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The Seventh Edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*[1]

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THE *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe, familiarly known as the Book of Martyrs, must rank as one of the great books of English literature, despite the fact that it is now almost never read. It yields place only to the *Bible* and to *Pilgrim's Progress*, its spiritual descendant, in the depth of its influence upon the religious thought and action of Protestant England. There could have been few people in England during the century after its publication who did not have at least the opportunity to thumb through it. Harrison, in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, speaking of the court of Elizabeth, says, "euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same."[2] It was kept in many churches, chained beside the great *Bible*, and the Companies of London were required each to provide a copy in their halls.[3]

[1] Read at the Society's meeting held in New York City, June 18, 1943.

[2] Ed. 1807, I, p. 331.

[3] Arber. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London.* I, p. 496.

It was not a book that would appeal to anyone solely for its literary qualities, though those were not entirely lacking. Its appeal lay, undoubtedly, in the timeliness and immediacy of its subject matter; the troubles it described were as close to its readers in time as the first World War is to us, and it was by no means certain that those troubles could not come again. For the simple and the illiterate, there was the powerful propaganda of the woodcuts, more persuasive, even, than the crabbed text. In many a parish were oldsters who could remember the events described, and the smoke of the martyrs' fires. Its printer, though he published hundreds of books and lived a long and honorable life, was memorialized on his tombstone as the printer of the Book of Martyrs.[4]

The book was first published in Latin on the Continent during Foxe's exile there. The first part of it, probably written in England before his flight, was printed in Strasbourg in 1554, in an octavo volume that is extremely rare to-day.[5] The printer was Wendelin Richelius, and the date given in the dedication is August 31, 1554. The complete Latin edition, a folio of 732 pages, was printed in 1559 by Brilinger and Oporinus of Basle.[6] After Elizabeth's accession, Foxe delayed his return to England to see

[4] heere lies the *Daye* that darknes could not blynd
when popish fogges had ouer cast the sunne
This *Daye* the cruell night did leaue behynd
To view and shew what bloudi *Actes* weare donne
he set a *Fox* to wright how *Martyrs* runne
By death to lyfe *Fox* venturd paynes & health
To giue them light *Daye* spent in print his wealth
—*Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1832, p. 417.

[5] COMMENTARII | RERVM IN ECCLESIA GE- | starum, maximarumque, per | totam Europam, persecutio- | num, a Vuicleui temporibus | ad hanc usque aetate descriptio. | Liber primus. | *Autore Ioanne Foxo Anglo.* | . . . . ARGENTORATI | *Excudebat Vuendelinus Rihelius* | Anno M.D.LIIII.

[6] RERVM | IN ECCLESIA GE- | starum, quae postremis & pericu- | losis his temporibus euenerunt, maxi- | marumque per Europam persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei | Martyrum, caeterarumque rerum si quae insignioris | exempli sint, digesti per Regna & natio- | nes Commentarii. | PARS PRIMA. | . . . . Autore IOANNE FOXO Anglo. | [Printer's Device] | *BASILEAE, PER NICOLAUM* | *BRYLINGERVM, ET IOAN-* | *nem Oporinum.*

— Copy in New York Public Library.

his book through the press. There was talk of a French translation, but no copy of it is known, and it probably was never published. Foxe must have begun preparation of his English version soon after his return in October, 1559, but the task was more than one of translation, for there was a great mass of recent history to be added. The first English edition was published by Day in 1563, and the same printer issued three more editions in 1571, 1576, and 1583. During this time, Foxe was an intimate associate of Day, and edited a number of the latter's publications. Day died in 1584, and Foxe in 1587. The fifth edition was begun by Denham and finished by Peter Short in 1596, and the sixth was printed by Humphrey Lownes for the Company of Stationers in 1610. The seventh, in 1632, is the immediate subject of this paper.

Normally, the later editions of a book are cheapened and compressed to smaller bulk; the opposite happened with this book. The first edition in English had been published as one large folio volume. The next five were in two folio volumes each, and the seventh was in three volumes. The number of editions and the book's increase in bulk are evidence of the degree of importance that was attached to the book.[7]

There is a commonly accepted belief that the book was required by law to be kept in all the churches. In passing, I should like to re-examine the evidence on which this belief is based. Prynne says that the book was "enjoyned to be kept in every Church for the people to read in."[8] Strype says

> that it was in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, enjoined to be set up in some convenient Place in all the Parish Churches, together with the Bible, and Bishop *Jewels Defense* of the *Apology* of the Church of *England*; to be read at all suitable Times by the People, before or after Service.[9]

[7] The third edition, 1576, was cheapened slightly. It is the smallest of all the editions in size of page, size of type, and number of pages. Even so, nothing of importance was omitted from it, and some new material was added.

[8] William Prynne. *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 88.

[9] John Strype. *Annals of the Reformation*, 1725-1731, III, p. 503.

Neale says "it was ordered to be set up in the churches;"[10] he cites Strype as his authority. Townsend follows these authorities in believing that the Book of Martyrs was "set up in every parish church."[11] J. M. Stone, writing in 1900, says "even parish churches far and wide were furnished with copies of the work, chained side by side with the Bible."[12] He adds a list of churches in which copies were still chained in his day.

Prynne, the earliest of the authorities cited, was certainly prejudiced, for he was a deadly enemy of Archbishop Laud. When he made the statement we have quoted he was accusing Laud of having the book removed from the churches, and he was trying to make that action look as villainous as possible. Strype, three-quarters of a century later, uses words very similar to Prynne's:

Prynne: "enjoyned to be kept in every Church."
Strype: "enjoined to be set up . . . in all the Parish Churches."

Was Prynne the source of Strype's statement? I think it likely.

It was probably from these two writers, and especially from Strype, that modern authors and editors, Townsend and many others, drew the idea that the Book of Martyrs was almost as much a part of the furnishings of all churches as the *Bible*. But the Canon Law of 1571[13] does not require it in parish churches. It requires every archbishop and bishop to have it in his house; every dean is to place a copy in his cathedral church, and "The Deane, and euerie chiefe Residentarie, whom they call the dignities of the Church" shall each buy a copy for his own family. Every archdeacon must have one in his house. As for the parish churches, the *Bible* is required; the *Book of Common Prayer*, "the holy homilies, and the homilies which lately were written against

[10] Daniel Neale. *The History of the Puritans*, 2d ed., 1754, I, p. 124.

[11] *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1841, I, p. 29.

[12] *Foxe's Book of Errors*. In: *The Month*, XCV, p. 368.

[13] *A Booke of certaine Canons . . . of the Churche of England . . . 1571*, London, John Day, (STC 10063).

rebellion," must be present; but nothing is said of the Book of Martyrs.

The canons of the Convocation of 1603[14] call for the *Bible*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Book of Homilies* to be kept in all churches. Again there is no mention of the Book of Martyrs. The articles of visitation are another source of information. There are many of these in existence, not all of which are available to us on this side of the Atlantic, but the evidence I have found in those available is negative. The *Bible* and the *Book of Common Prayer* are always mentioned; the books of homilies are usually named; the paraphrase of Erasmus is named in one; psalters, register books, and the *Book of Canons* are named; but the Book of Martyrs I have not found there. I am driven to the conclusion, subject always to correction when more evidence is brought to light, that the *Acts and Monuments* was not required by canon law or by any regulation of country-wide applicability, to be in all parish churches. That the book was placed in many of them there can be no doubt. Stone, as we have noted, lists churches where copies were still kept in 1900.

A little simple arithmetic should help to an understanding of the matter. During Elizabeth's lifetime, there were five editions published. It is highly improbable that any single edition much exceeded 1350 copies, which is the number printed in 1596.[15] But to be on the safe side, let us assume that the impressions averaged 1500 copies each. Seventy-five hundred copies would not supply much more than half the parish churches, to say nothing of the dignitaries who were required to own them. Certain bishops may have required them in their dioceses, or may have urged their purchase, as Archbishop Parker urged the purchase

[14] *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* . . . London, R. Barker, 1604. (Reprint, H. A. Wilson, ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923.)

[15] Greg and Boswell, ed. *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1930, p. 51.

of Jewel's works in 1572,[16] and Archbishop Bancroft made the same recommendation in 1610.[17] Wealthy and zealous parishioners no doubt presented many copies to their churches. But the leisurely spacing of the editions (1563, 1571, 1576, 1583, 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641) does not argue the same wholesale demand as for *Bibles* and prayerbooks. To accept the legend, we would be forced to believe that one or more of these editions was enormous beyond all our understanding of such things, or that the law was not well observed. I believe there never was such a law.

Let us return to our recital of the events leading up to the publication of the seventh edition. After the sixth edition was printed in 1610, nineteen years, until that time the longest interval between editions, went by before a new impression was seriously considered. Under date of September 7, 1629, the *Court Book* of the Company[18] records an offer that, if ten members of the Company would undertake the work of publication, they could have the privilege by paying a penny in the pound to the Company. There was evidently no great rush of applicants, for on August 1, 1631, almost two years later, the Book of Martyrs is again under discussion.[19] By this time a real demand for the book had arisen, and there seems to have been hints about the possibility of an edition printed outside of London. Three men, Felix Kyngston, Adam Islip, and Robert Young, agreed to do the printing, and others were invited to share in the profits and risks of marketing the books. As a matter of fact, the printers had already begun work, and the entry may have been for the purpose of regularizing their position and safeguarding their investment.

The three printers named here appear to be a fairly representative cross-section of the prosperous upper crust of the Company.

[16] Strype. *Life of Parker*, 1711, p. 368.

[17] Cardwell. *Documentary Annals*, 1839, II, p. 160 f.

[18] Fol. 104b. These unpublished records I have examined in photostats made for the Bibliographical Society of London and now in the custody of Mr. William A. Jackson.

[19] *Court Book*, fol. 115a.

Adam Islip, as an apprentice in 1582, had been involved in Roger Ward's piracy of John Day's ABC books. Ward had persuaded him to lend some type from his master's shop.[20] This escapade seems not to have hindered his rise in the Company. He was walking proof that a man could begin as an apprentice and become a prosperous and influential figure. Felix Kyngston, like his father John Kingston, had been a member of the Grocers Company until 1597,[21] when he transferred to the Stationers and assumed control of his widowed mother's printing house. He was a prolific printer, but he seems to have confined himself almost entirely to small books. Between 1620 and 1640, the Book of Martyrs is the only folio I have been able to find bearing his imprint. Robert Young is probably best known as the printer of the 1637 quarto of *Hamlet*. He also printed the 1633 folio edition of du Bartas's *Divine Weeks and Works*. He entered the Company by transfer from the Drapers in 1600; in partnership with Miles Fletcher and John Haviland he bought several old-established printing houses, including that of Humphrey Lownes. Young and his partners were active and enterprising, and produced a large number of books, including several folios. In 1628 he was sent to Ireland on business for the Company.[22] Either he had money before he entered the printing business, or he made money in it; probably both. Compared with Islip and Kyngston, he was a parvenu.

One of the aims of this investigation was to determine what part of the work was done by each of the three printers. The text itself is remarkably uniform in appearance. Printers' ornaments, however, are plentiful, and a comparison of these with the ornaments in known works of the three men makes possible a definite conclusion about the division of copy. The first volume was Kyng-

[20] Arber II, p. 753.

[21] Ibid., p. 718.

[22] *Court Book*, fol. 99a.

ston's, the second Islip's, and the third Young's.[23] But Islip also printed the first 13 sheets of Volume I, and in Volume III the 31 sheets just preceding the Table or index. In Volume I, sig. () contains only two ornaments, an initial V which I have not found in either Islip's or Kyngston's works, and a headpiece that is clearly Islip's. I believe we can safely assign these three sheets to Islip, but he must have printed them at a different time from those signed ¶, or he would have continued the ¶ signature.

In Volume III, the 31 sheets Islip printed are bibliographically distinct. They have their own title-page,[24] in a compartment known to be Islip's (McKerrow and Ferguson 148), they are separately signed, and the ornaments throughout are his. None of the material is by Foxe himself, and none of it had ever before been printed with the *Acts and Monuments*. The first seven leaves are not paginated; the eighth is marked "Fol. 1," and the pages bear consecutive numbers from there on through P5, but with many errors. There is nothing following this section except the Index, which is Young's work.

Islip's volume is the smallest, and when we add to its 198 sheets the 13 he printed in the first volume, and the 31 in the third, his part of the work is still not as great as that of the other men. The totals are, Kyngston, 275 sheets; Islip, 242 sheets; and Young, 284 sheets; grand total, 801 sheets.

In Islip's portion of Volume III there are a number of blank

[23] Collations: Volume I: [¶]^4 (¶1 ? blank) 2¶-3¶^{8} ()^6 (A)-(H)^4 (I)^6 A-4P^6 4Q^8 (4Q8 ? blank).

Volume II: A-I^6 K^8 L-3T^6 3V^4 (3V4 ? blank).

Volume III: A (A1 ? blank)-4P^6 4Q^8 A-O^4 P^6 (P6 blank) 4R-5G^4 (5G4 ? blank).

[24] A | CONTINVATION | OF THE HISTORIES OF | Forrein MARTYRS: From | the happy reigne of the most re- | nowned Qu. *Elizabeth*, | to these times. | With sundry relations of those | bloody massacres executed vpon the | Protestants in the Cities of *France*, in | the yeare 1572. | WHERVNTO ARE ANNEXED | the two famous Deliuerances of our | *English* Nation: the one, from the | *Spanish Inuasion*, in 88. The other, | from the *Gunpowder Trea-* | *son*, in 1605. | TOGETHER WITH THE | barbarous cruelties exercised vpon | the Professors of the *Gospell* | in the VALTOLINE, | 1621. | [Rule] | LONDON, | Printed by *Adam Islip*, *Foelix Kingston*, | and *Robert Yong*, 1632.

pages and leaves. He was obviously trying to make the work cover as many sheets as possible. Was there some private adjustment among the three men to compensate for the difference in the amount of printing done? The Table Young printed was prepared by one Nathaniel Holmes, who later became an eminent Puritan divine, and it may have been done at Islip's expense. That in itself may have been sufficient to compensate for his smaller share of printing. There may also have been a cash settlement not entered in the Company's books.

An entry was made on October 23, 1632, recording an agreement that the printers were to pay forty marks to the poor of the Company, each man to pay according to the number of sheets he had printed.[25] In the spring of the following year there are entries in the Company's *Book of Fines* recording the payment of eight pounds by each printer — slightly less than they had agreed upon, if we accept the mark at its rated value of 13*s* 4*d*. Though it would have been easy to calculate each man's proportional share, they all paid the same amount. Clearly there had been some sort of settlement among them. But as we shall see, there was another complication that might have entered into their reckoning.

Now we must turn to the consideration of another series of events that had a bearing on the publication of the seventh edition. The monumental size of the book, and the consequent expense of owning a copy, had long ago caused a demand for an abridgment of more moderate size and cost. Foxe was scarcely dead before there was trouble on that score. On July 3, 1587, Denham, at that time a warden of the Company, made an entry in the Register for "an abridgment of the booke of Martyrs with the pyctures."[26] There is no discoverable evidence that Denham ever published his abridgment, and one may doubt whether he ever seriously intended to. The entry was probably intended

[25] *Court Book*, fol. 121a.

[26] Arber, II, p. 473.

merely as a preventative. But it did not prevent. Timothy Bright, physician and inventor of a shorthand system called Charactry, obtained from the Queen a patent, ostensibly for his books on shorthand, but broad enough to cover any other writing he might do.[27] He was thus completely independent of both the Stationers' Company and the ecclesiastical authorities. He prepared an abridgment of the Book of Martyrs and assigned it for printing to John Windet.[28]

Richard Day was then the owner of the copyright of the *Acts and Monuments,* and he had assigned his rights to a group of partners in the Company.[29] The Company, acting for these partners, now began a suit against Bright and Windet. Some time before July 8, 1589, the matter was decided in favor of the defendants. The Wardens' accounts of that date show a disbursement of nine pounds, five shillings as the expenses of the suit.[30] During the year 1590-1591 they paid five shillings to have a copy of "Dr. Brightes Lycence to printe taken out of the Roulles."[31] The rest of the story is told in the *Court Book;* an entry on January 16, 1588/9, records the agreement that the expenses of the suit are to be borne "proportionably, according to their parts," by the partners in Richard Day's privilege. Perhaps there was a fear in their minds that further expenses would be necessary, for on June 2, 1589, we find a stipulation that the Master and Wardens are to be indemnified against any expense on account of the Bright controversy.[32] Dr. Bright's abridgment was published in

[27] Arber, II, p. 16.

[28] This is not the only book Windet printed for men holding rights outside the Stationers' Company. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was similarly managed. Such arrangements were contrary to the regulations of the Company, but at certain periods the rule was not strictly enforced. See Sisson. *The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker,* Cambridge, University Press, 1940, pp. 65-72.

[29] Arber, II, pp. 790-793.

[30] Arber, I, p. 534.

[31] Ibid., p. 547.

[32] Greg and Boswell, op. cit., pp. 30-32. This is the second time Richard Day had been defeated in legal action over his father's privileges. The first was in 1585, when

1589, in quarto, "Cum gratia, & Priuilegio Regeae Maiestatis."[33]

Clement Cotton's *The Mirror of Martyrs*, 1613, is also an abridgment of Foxe. John Budge paid the Company forty shillings for the privilege of printing each 1500 copies. Philip Chetwin made a similar payment in 1636 for three impressions.[34]

In 1615 another abridgment appeared, the work of Thomas Mason; its title was *Christs Victorie ouer Sathans tyrannie*. It was printed in folio by George Eld and Ralph Blower, and was entered in the register on August 1, 1614. This abridgment differs from the former ones in that it puts special emphasis upon the points of doctrine disputed by the martyrs and papists. It was later protected by a patent issued to Mason's widow Helen.

When the work of preparing the 1632 edition was drawing to an end, another controversy arose over an abridgment. Young, as we have noted, printed more than his equitable share of the edition. And a long entry in the *Court Book* under date of March 5, 1631/2,[35] tells of dissatisfaction among the sixteen men who had contracted to finance and sell the impression. Young was delaying the work; and, moreover, he was preparing an abridgment in partnership with Miles Fletcher and John Haviland. So the complaint runs. Ostensibly the abridgment was that of Thomas Mason, the patent for which was still in effect, though Mason and his widow were now dead. Search of Fletcher's printing house revealed that much of the material used for the abridgment was not Mason's, but was a new work, drawing heavily upon the chief parts of the unfinished edition of Foxe. The partners were formally ordered to forbear, but they persisted in the work on the abridgment. The Court therefore ordered Fletcher's press

he tried without success to obtain redress for the piracy, by Ward and others, of his *Psalms in Meter* and *ABC with Catechism*. Arber, II, pp. 790-793. Did he become discouraged and abandon his rights? Apparently so; the Book of Martyrs, at least, was never issued in his name.

[33] *S. T. C.* 11229.

[34] *Court Book*, fol. 39a; 143a. *S. T. C.* 5848.

[35] Fol. 118a.

seized and dismantled, and the sheets of the impression confiscated.

Presumably the Company was successful in preventing the publication of this abridgment. There is no record of its appearance. Young was not easily put off, however. He went to William Laud, then Bishop of London, and probably the most powerful man in England. Years later, when Laud was on trial for his life, he was accused of preventing the publication of "godly" books, and he was able to turn this incident to his advantage:

> But since *the Book of Martyrs* was named, I shall tell *your Lordships* how careful I was of it. . . . Mr. *Young* the Printer laboured me earnestly and often for an *Abridgment*. . . . But I still withstood it . . . upon these two Grounds. The one, lest it should bring the large Book it self into disuse. And the other, lest if any Material thing should be left out, that should have been charged as done of purpose by me; as now I see it is in other Books.[36]

There is no indication of exact date in this statement of the archbishop about Young. It seems reasonable to suppose that Young must have approached Laud at the time the Company opposed his abridgment, and may have, as Laud indicated, continued his attempts for some time thereafter.

It is interesting, but pure guesswork, to speculate whether this matter of the abridgment had anything to do with the varying amounts of printing done on the Foxe edition by the three printers, and with Young's alleged delay in finishing his share. Did he use his over-large division as an excuse for a delay that was actually caused by the abridgment? On the other hand, was there any unreasonable delay? The Table could not have been prepared until the rest of the work was in type, and therefore Young's volume would necessarily be the last one finished. Only seven months had passed since the agreement for printing was recorded, at which time the work was presumably just begun. This does not seem a serious delay by the standards of the times; at the rate of

[36] *The History of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud*, London, R. Chiswell, 1695, p. 351.

a sheet a day six days a week, and allowing nothing for holidays and interruptions, a single compositor would have taken eleven months to set Young's share. We can understand the partners' anxiety to put the books on sale and recover their investment, but if no abridgment had threatened to spoil their market, we may doubt whether they would have been so impatient.

So the seventh edition was finally published, by the co-operation of three printers and with the financial support of sixteen booksellers. The bickering that accompanied the work was not uncommon among the Stationers, and we may be grateful for it because the records of their disagreements add immeasurably to our knowledge of the period.

The *Acts and Monuments* began as a book for all Protestants, but at the time we are concerned with it, it had become a more narrowly sectarian possession. It was now the peculiar property of the Puritans, and they were jealous of the slightest encroachment upon it. The story of Archbishop Laud contains a number of incidents that illustrate the partisan spirit with which the book was regarded. The Laud controversy, of course, was but one phase of the enormous struggle between the High Church party and the Puritans. The whole conflict was as much political as religious, but the Puritans attacked Laud on religious grounds, because that was his weakness and their strength. Among many other charges, they accused him of encouraging the publication of popish books and of preventing the printing of "godly" books, specifically the Book of Martyrs. He had, they declared, set up popish pictures in his own chapel, and he had caused the Book of Martyrs to be taken out of the churches.

The Puritans were not interested in freedom of the press; they merely wanted the books they favored published, and those they disliked suppressed. So jealous were they of the Book of Martyrs that even an almanac based on Foxe was sacrosanct in their eyes:

In the yeare 1631, *William Beale*, Servant to Master *Gellibrand*, Professor of the Mathematickes at *Gresham* Colledge *London*, set forth an *Almanacke* for that Yeare . . . printed for the Company of *Stationers*, agreeing with the Kalendar before Master *Fox* his Acts and Monuments. . . . This Prelate [Laud] being then Bishop of *London* taking great exceptions against this Almanack, brought both Mr. *Gellibrand* and his man into the High Commission for compiling and publishing it, where hee prosecuted them with great violence.[37]

Gellibrand was acquitted by the commission, but Laud, says Prynne, declared the almanac to be offensive to the Queen (who, we will remember, was a Catholic), and continued persecuting Gellibrand until the latter took sick and died.

The Archbishop in his own defense declared that he objected to the almanac because it did not agree with Foxe's Kalendar, but that Gellibrand "abused it, in leaving out diverse Saints allowed by the Church of *England*."

The almanac in question is listed in the *S. T. C.* as number 412, "Beale, W., An almanacke for 1631, 8°, for the company of Stationers, 1631." The British Museum has a copy, and there is another one at Lambeth. It would be interesting, if it were possible, to compare the almanac with the Kalendar. Is it, or it is not, an accurate reprint of that part of Foxe? Laud's veracity, or his memory, is at stake here. But we cannot answer this question at present.

If the Puritans jealously defended the book, the High Church party were not above joking about it. In 1634 Prynne, who had previously had his ears cropped for writing *Histriomastix*, was tried and imprisoned for writing libelous letters to the archbishop. He was placed in close confinement and denied writing material and reading matter. On his own complaint at his treatment, he was brought before the Star Chamber, where Laud interceded for him, suggesting that there could be no harm in allowing the prisoner books, paper, and pens.

[37] Prynne, op. cit., p. 184.

But my Lord *Keeper* asked the rest of the Lords, what they thought of it? but no resolution was given at all, but they would take it into their Consideration. The Lord *Richardson* then said, let him have the Book of Martyrs, for the Puritans do account him for a *Martyr*.[38]

During this same year Laud was accused of putting Catholic pictures in his chapel windows; the same charge was brought against him at his trial, and his answer again illustrates how the Book of Martyrs had become a symbol of the breach between the parties:

. . . I humbly pray *your Lordships* cast your Eyes upon the Frontispiece of the *Book of Martyrs*, Printed *An.* 1642. since this *Parliament* began, and when I was safe enough from having any Hand in the Business; and there you shall see as dangerous Pictures as have been charged upon me, or any my Chapel Windows.[39]

The "dangerous" picture he refers to is the title-page of the 1641 edition, at the top of which is a representation of Christ judging the world. It is a recutting of the old title-page compartment that had been used in every English edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, including the seventh. It was not used again when the book was next reprinted in 1684.

The charge that Laud removed the Book of Martyrs from the churches was a shrewd one, well calculated to rouse popular feeling against the prelate, but it was not supported by factual evidence, and was based chiefly on an unfortunate display of temper by Laud:

Then the Councell for the Parish alleadged, that *Bishop Jewell* . . . and Master *John Fox* in his *Acts* and *Monuments*, . . . maintained and asserted, *That the Communion Table ought to stand in the* MIDST OF THE CHVRCH AMONG THE PEOPLE, *and not Altar-wise against the wall.* Hereupon the Archbishop stood up in an angry manner, and sayd, *If this be the use they make of these Books Jewell & Fox, I desire they may be taken out of Churches.*[40]

[38] John Rushworth. *Historical Collections*, London, 1659, II, part 2, p. 248.

[39] Laud, op. cit., p. 351.

[40] Prynne, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

In 1637 a decree of the Star Chamber required all books, old and new, to be licensed, and confirmed the powers of Canterbury as licensing agent. Laud was accused of using his powers tyrannically:

> Master *Walley*, Clerke of Stationers Hall, and Master *Downes* deposed, that after the Decree for printing was made, there were divers old Bookes against Popery formerly Licenced (as the Booke of *Martyres*, Bishop *Jewells* Workes, some parts of Doctor *Willets* Workes and others) which the Archbishops and Bishop of *Londons* Chaplaines refused to new License; whereupon they repaired to Sir *Iohn Bramston* then Lord chiefe Justice, and desired leave from him . . . *Who answered them, that he could do nothing in it but they must go and attend the Archbishop, who had the chiefe hand in making this decree.*[41]

Foxe the martyrologist in his own day was revered by high and low alike, almost as a saint. He was among the first to use, in its modern sense, the phrase, "liberty of conscience."[42] But the observation has been made that the most unchristianlike work in the world is a martyrology.[43] And certainly it would be hard to tell, at this distance, which were the more intolerant — the High Churchmen who derided his book, or the Puritans who so fiercely defended it.

It is not known exactly how and when the Stationers' Company acquired the rights to the *Acts and Monuments*. The copy was not among those Day surrendered in January, 1584, for the benefit of the poor of the Company.[44] Day's copies, at his death, would normally have passed to Denham, who acquired his business. Part of Denham's rights passed soon thereafter to Peter Short, and in 1604 from Short to Humphrey Lownes, who married the widow Emma Short. But it is clear that the Book of Martyrs was not a part of the property involved in this succession, for in January, 1589, the Court of the Company ruled "that the partners in Ric' dayes priuilege shall proportionably according to their parts

[41] Prynne, op. cit., p. 184.

[42] *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1583, in preface, "Four Considerations."

[43] Hinds. *History of the Rise and Progress of Christianity*, 1828, II, p. 271.

[44] Arber, II, pp. 787-788.

beare & pay all ye money yt hath ben expendid in defence of the book of martyrs being a book comprised in yt priuilege."[45] It seems clear that the rights to certain of Day's privileged books, among which was the Book of Martyrs, were kept together as a property of Day's son Richard, and that this property must have passed to the Company at Richard's death or earlier.

There are, however, several facts that tend to confuse the issue. In 1587 Denham, as we have seen, entered in the Register an abridgment of the Book of Martyrs, which he never published. Then there is the fact that Denham began, and Short finished, the 1596 edition, aided financially by a partnership of ten booksellers.[46] Richard Day's assigns in 1585 were White, Wright, Butter, Wolfe, and Adams,[47] but none of these was among the ten partners of the 1596 venture. These facts are not conclusive, but they are confusing. The only things certain are that the 1610 edition was printed for the Company of Stationers, and that the Company continued to exercise its rights in the book thereafter.

The publishers of the Book of Martyrs were, a modern bookseller might think, extremely lucky or extremely astute with their editions of the book. The 1563 edition coincided with the ending of the Council of Trent, and the 1571 with both the Papal Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and the Convocation of the Clergy of the Church of England. Sales of the 1632 edition must have been helped by the rising tide of Puritanism. Such fortunate timing undoubtedly contributed to the book's commercial success. What Day and the later publishers must have thought of it I cannot say; we may assume they were pleased. But I doubt if Foxe was happy over the events that contributed to the success of his book. He was a man of peace; and he wrote his book, I am convinced, not to stir men up to further and more bitter factionalism, but to preach — in Townsend's words — "that persecu-

[45] Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. 30.

[46] Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. 51.

[47] Arber, II, pp. 790-793.

tion or the infliction of pain on the body, as the punishment of those conclusions of the mind which were neither injurious to society, the church, nor the soul of men, is indefensible and unjust."[48]

But it was the fate of the book to stir men up to hate, and when the dangers of Catholicism seemed less immediate, it was adopted by the Puritans and cried down by the High Church party. That same fate pursued the book when it was revived in the nineteenth century, and again it became a football of religious intolerance.

[48] *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1837, I, p. 4.

The Authenticity of *The Voyage of Richard Castelman*, 1726

By Edward D. Seeber

THE special attention now accorded to source material for early American history offers a timely occasion for an examination of the authenticity of *The Voyage, Shipwreck, and Miraculous Preservation of Richard Castelman.* This anonymous account of a trip through the middle and southern colonies in 1709-1710 was published in London in 1726, as a forty-page appendage to the popular *Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle.*[1] The dual narrative saw ten editions by the year 1797 and was translated into Italian, German, Dutch, and French; it appeared also in Garnier's notable collection of *Voyages imaginaires*, Amsterdam and Paris, 1787, vols. X-XI. Castelman's adventures were translated separately, prior to 1800, into Italian, Dutch, and German.

The *Catalogue* of the British Museum, the *Cambridge Bibliography*, Lowndes, Sabin, Gove, and Cox suggest that both works may have been written by William Rufus Chetwood (d. 1766), prompter at Drury Lane Theatre, bookseller, and supposed author of *The Voyages of Captain R. Falconer*, 1724, and *The Voyages*

[1] *The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle, in Several Parts of the World. Intermix'd with the Story of Mrs. Villars, an English Lady with whom he made his Surprizing Escape from Barbary; the History of an Italian Captive; and the Life of Don Pedro Aquilio, &c. Full of Various and Amazing Turns of Fortune. To which is added, The Voyage, Shipwreck, and Miraculous Preservation of Richard Castelman, Gent. With a Description of the City of Philadelphia, and the Country of Pensylvania.* London: Printed for John Watts, 1726, 374 pp., 8vo.

. . . *of Captain W. O. G. Vaughan*, 1736. The reason for this attribution is not apparent; in style, at least, the Castelman account bears no resemblance to the others. Other authors suggested by earlier bibliographers are Benjamin Victor and Daniel Defoe; the latter possibility, Professor Moore assures me, can be promptly dismissed.[2]

The story of Boyle's adventures is generally accepted as one of the many successful imaginary voyages whose vogue in England was stimulated, although not begun, by *Robinson Crusoe*. The exact nature of Castelman's *Voyage*, on the other hand, has never been determined. Sabin remarks cautiously that this narrative "bears marks of authenticity,"[3] and, more recently, Cox states that "Castelman's visit to Philadelphia is believed to be authentic; it contains an account of the Indians with a specimen of their language."[4] But a display of factual knowledge alone is no *a priori* proof of authenticity, as recent studies on Defoe and Smollett have abundantly demonstrated;[5] and Castelman's *Voyage* is no exception to the run of works derived from that "considerable amount of cribbing . . . without which no eighteenth-century book of travel in England would be complete."[6] Furthermore, it is obvious that eighteenth-century authors of fictional travel narratives commonly practiced willful deception in order to advertise

[2] I am greatly indebted to my colleague Professor John R. Moore who, from his vast knowledge of eighteenth-century travel literature, has generously offered me valuable suggestions in the present article.

[3] *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*. New York, J. Sabin & Sons, 1871, IV, p. 14.

[4] E. G. Cox. *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*. Seattle, University of Washington Publications, 1938, X, p. 478.

[5] Cf. John R. Moore's *Defoe in the Pillory and Other Studies*. Bloomington, Indiana, 1939, esp. chap. vi; also his *Defoe and the Eighteenth-Century Pamphlets on London*, in: *Philological Quarterly*, XX, 1941, pp. 38-45, revealing borrowings from Defoe in certain tracts describing London, appearing from ten to twenty years later.

Louis L. Martz, in *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942, shows how Smollett, in his travel accounts, "followed the mellow tradition of Grub Street by refusing to acknowledge any immediate sources . . ." (p. 30).

[6] Moore. *Defoe* . . . , p. 76.

their supposed veracity; their methods ranged in subtlety from the artless "written by himself" of the title-page (*Robinson Crusoe, The Voyages of Captain Winterfield*, etc.) to the elaborate equivocation of Smollett who, protesting that "the remarks about [Rome] are all my own," pretends to correct a statement found in one guide book by copying, without acknowledgment, from another.[7] Thus the assurance in Castelman's preface that in this work "there are no embellishments, nor one step out of the road of truth," and that the unidentified author is "a person of the greatest probity, as the post he is in will sufficiently testify," need not be taken seriously. The extent of the author's "probity" is revealed in the following analysis.

I. Printed Sources

Castelman's description of Charleston, S. C. (covering 3 pages) and his accounts of Bermuda (3 pages) and of Pennsylvania (14 pages) clearly show a generous pilfering from John Oldmixon's *The British Empire in America*, a work of compilation published in London in 1708, in two volumes. The passages cited below in support of this contention can also be traced to the sources used freely by Oldmixon, himself not a traveler: Archdale's *A New Description . . . of Carolina*, London, 1707, William Penn's *Account of the City of Philadelphia*, London, 1683, Gabriel Thomas's *An Account of Pennsylvania*, London, 1698, John Harris's *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1705, etc. Certain statements of relatively simple facts (such as the latitudes of Charleston and Bermuda — upon which, be it said, not all writers agreed) have been included on the assumption that they belong to the general store of knowledge gleaned from Oldmixon. It will be seen that the author is content to follow Oldmixon page by page, without having recourse (except in the case of Thomas) to other handy source material. The following quotations are from the original editions.

[7] Martz, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

Charleston

Oldmixon (vol. I)	Castelman
Charles Town, the Capital of this Province, is built on a Neck of Land between Ashley and Cooper Rivers . . . (p. 370)	Charles-town, . . . the Capital of Carolina, is situated upon a Neck of Land form'd by a River on each Side, (nam'd Ashley and Cooper Rivers) . . . (p. 334)
. . . the Auditory begin to want Room, and another Church. (p. 371)	. . . before I left the Place, Subscriptions were taken in to build a regular Stone Building. (p. 334)
. . . the Country about it agreeable and fruitful . . . Every thing generally grows there that will grow in any part of Europe . . . (pp. 371, 377)	There is Plenty of every Thing for the Life of Man to be found at Charlestown . . . The Climate is very wholesome . . . (p. 334, 335)
It lies in 32 Deg. 40 Min. N. Lat. (p. 370)	It lies in 32 deg. 40 min. Northern Latitude. (p. 335)
. . . it deals near 1000 Miles into the Continent . . . (p. 371)	. . . they have Dealings three hundred Leagues up the Country . . . (p. 335)
The Rivers are found to be more navigable than was at first believ'd . . . (p. 377)	. . . navigable Rivers that come from the Mountains. (p. 335)
As to the Air, 'tis always serene, and agreeable to any Constitutions . . . What may properly be said to belong to the Country is, to have some gentle Touches of Agues and Fevers in July and August, especially to new Comers. (pp. 376, 377)	The Climate is very wholesome: Tho' most Europeans have at their first Arrival the Distemper of the Country, which proceeds from Change of Air and Diet . . . (p. 335)

Bermuda

Oldmixon (vol. II)	Castelman
. . . St. George's Town [is] one of the strongest and best built in all our American Colonies, for the Houses are of Cedar. (p. 365)	St. George's Town . . . is very well fortify'd . . . most of the Houses are compos'd of Cedar. (pp. 336, 338)

There are such a vast Number of them [islands], that most of them yet want a Name, and indeed are so small, they are not worth it. Some Writers say, there are 300 of them, others 400, and others 500 . . . The Eighth Part of them are not inhabited, and . . . have only a few Houses scatter'd up and down. (pp. 370, 371)

I was informed by a Gentleman that had coasted along these Islands, that their Number amounts to 378, but above 300 of them deserve no other Name than Rocks; and most of the others that are inhabited have not above half a dozen Houses upon them. (p. 336)

They lie some Hundreds of Leagues from any Land; the nearest part of the Continent . . . being 300 Leagues from them . . . ; their Latitude is between 32 and 33 Deg. N. L. (p. 371)

. . . [the island] lying very convenient . . . between 32 and 33 Degrees of N. Latitude, and 300 Leagues from the Continent or any other Island. (p. 338)

. . . yet some [islands are] much bigger than others, as Time, and the Sea continually washing upon them, have worn 'em away in different Proportions. (p. 371)

. . . [the islands] were divided as they are now by the Innovation of the Sea, and . . . the Waves daily lessen the small ones. (p. 337)

The Town of St. George's stands at the Bottom of the Haven of the same Name, which has no less than 6 or 7 Forts and Batteries. (p. 372)

St. George's Town is seated in the Bottom of a Bay of the same Name, and is very well fortify'd. (p. 336)

Here is a sort of perpetual Spring, and tho the Trees throw off their old Leaves, there are new ones always coming out at the same Time. (p. 373)

There is a perpetual Spring to be observ'd in these Islands, and the old Leaves never drop before they are thrust out by new ones. (p. 336)

'Tis true, the Thunder and Lightnings are here very dreadful, Rocks having been split assunder by the latter. (p. 373)

The Air . . . now and then troubled with violent Thunder and Lightning; and I have been shown several Rocks that they say were split by Lightning. (p. 336)

The Soil is very fruitful . . . (p. 374)

The Soil of all the cultivated Islands is alike, being very fruitful . . . (p. 337)

The Cedar is a finer Tree than any of the sort in the other Parts of America. 'Tis . . . found to be an extraordinary Timber for Shipping, and they build the best Sloops, Brigantines, and such like Vessels . . . (p. 374)

Among their Trees, the Cedar is the most plentiful . . . I have seen Vessels of a hundred Ton built with Cedar . . . (p. 338)

Pennsylvania

Oldmixon (vol. I)

The Proprietary, William Pen, Esq; is the Son of Sir William Pen, . . . he . . . commanded the Fleet under the Duke of York, in the first Dutch War . . . For the Services he had done the King and Nation, his Son, the ingenious William Pen, Esq; solicited a Grant of this Province; but having declar'd himself the Head of the People . . . call'd Quakers, he met with great Difficulties in obtaining this Pattent. (pp. 149-150)

Pensylvania consists of all that Tract of Land in America, with all Islands thereunto belonging; that is to say, from the Beginning of the fortieth Degree of North Latitude. (p. 150)

The Air is sweet and clear, the Heavens serene . . . Frosty Weather and extreme cold Seasons have been known there, as in the Year 1681, but the Sky was always clear, and the Air dry . . . The Heats are extraordinary in the Summer Months . . . (p. 156)

The Indians are generally tall, streight, well-built, and of singular Proportion . . . As to their Faces, Mr. Pen says, *The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them* . . . (p. 159)

Castelman

Pensylvania takes its Name from William Penn, Esq; Son to Sir William Penn, Admiral of a Squadron in the Dutch War, where he behav'd like a Man of Courage and Conduct. His Son, the present Proprietor, met with some Difficulty in obtaining his Patent, by reason he had declar'd himself Head of the People call'd Quakers. (pp. 356-357)

Pensylvania is compos'd of all that Tract of Land, with its Islands . . . which lies from forty to forty-five Degrees of North Latitude . . . (p. 357)

The Air is pleasant, wholesome, and unclouded, or very rarely overcast. Tho' the Winter is something colder, and the Summer hotter than in England, yet the Inhabitants have known several Winters together without Frosts . . . (p. 357)

They are most of 'em well made, and exactly proportion'd in their Features, without the thick Lips and flat Noses of the Negroes. (p. 357)

. . . [the Indians] wash their Children in Water as soon as born, and plunge them often in Rivers while they are young, to harden them . . . At nine Months End the Children commonly go. (pp. 159-160)	They throw their Children into the Water as soon as born, to harden their Bodies . . . the Women . . . look after their Children, who commonly go alone at nine Months . . . (p. 358)
The Boys fish till they are fifteen, then they hunt; and having given some Proofs of their Manhood by a good return of Skins, may marry . . . (p. 160)	The Boys go a hunting or fishing with the Father at six Years old; and when they are experienced in both and arrive to their sixteenth Year, they may marry. (p. 358)
The Girls live with their Mothers, help hough the Ground, plant Corn, and carry Burthens . . . (p. 160)	The Girls stay at home with their Mother, who instructs them in her Business. (p. 358)
They are the merriest Creatures living, feasting and dancing perpetually. (p. 161)	They are People of a merry Disposition, continually laughing and singing, even at their Work. (p. 359)
[The Indians] have learnt Drunkenness of the Europeans, and are wretched Objects when drunk. (p. 161)	. . . if they once get Liquor of the Europeans, they never give over till dead drunk . . . (p. 359)
Some Oysters are 6 Inches long, and Cockles as big as Stewing-Oysters, with which a rich Broth is made . . . (pp. 158-159)	At Lewis we had some of the largest Oysters and Cockles I ever saw in my Life; some of the former were six Inches Diameter out of the Shell, and very well tasted. At this Place they make a rich Soup, composed of these . . . (p. 370)
The Swedes . . . had encroach'd upon the Dutch, the first Planters here . . . [The Dutch] were too powerful for the Swedes, who finding they could not maintain their Ground, submitted to their stronger Neighbours. (pp. 164-165)	The Dutch were the first Foreigners that came to these Parts . . . The next that appear'd was a Colony from Sweden . . . The Dutch were offended at these Interlopers, as they call'd 'em, and threaten'd to make War upon 'em; which was prevented by the Swedes surrendering the Plantations to 'em, who return'd home. (p. 360)

Philadelphia . . . is indeed most commodiously situated between two navigable Rivers . . . And as Philadelphia flourish'd so much at first, that there were near 100 Houses and Cottages within less than a Years time, so since the Foundation of this City, A.D. 1682, it has made answerable Progress . . . The Land on which it stands is high and firm . . . (p. 151)

. . . no great Progress was made there till 1682, the Year after Mr. Penn had gain'd the Patent for it. In less than a Year there were a hundred Houses built, and formed into a Town . . . , a Place for its Situation very agreeable, seated high upon a Neck of Land form'd by two fine navigable Rivers . . . (p. 361)

Men of all Principles have settled in this Place, . . . there's a great Church in Philadelphia, for the Exercise of Religion, according to the Discipline of the Church of England . . . Here are besides this several Meeting-houses, as a Quaker's . . . and a Swedish Church. (pp. 152-153)

All Religions are tolerated here . . . The People of the Church of England . . . have a neat, well-built Church . . . The Quakers . . . have several Meetings. There is a Swedish reform'd Church . . . (p. 364)

Pennsberry is a Mannor belonging to William Pen, Esq; the Lord Proprietary, who has built a very fine Seat there . . . The Ld. Cornbury, when he was Governour of New-York, . . . was extremely pleas'd with the House, Orchards and Gardens. 'Tis seated in a treble Island, the Delaware running three times about it. (p. 176)

The Proprietor of this fine Country . . . is William Pen, Esq. who has a fine Seat call'd Pensbury, built on three Islets, if I may so call 'em; for a Branch of the River Delaware runs thrice round it. In his Orchards and Gardens may be found all the Fruits, Roots, and Herbs that are in England. (pp. 365-366)

[The Indians] have been very civil and friendly to the English, who never lost Man, Woman, or Child by them; which neither the Colony of Maryland nor that of Virginia can say . . . (p. 164)

No Insults from the Indians were ever heard of here, which is more than any of our other Plantations upon the Continent can say . . . (p. 366)

At a little Distance from Philadelphia, is a pleasant Hill, very well Wooded, on the Banks of the Schoolkill, call'd Fair Mount. (pp. 153-154)

. . . I sometimes took a Walk with some of the Town to Fair Mount, a pleasant Place shaded with Trees on the River Schuylkill. (p. 367)

Newcastle is finely seated and built upon the Delaware; it stands high. The Dutch were the first Planters in this Neighbourhood, and the first inhabitants of this Town . . . (p. 178)

New-Castle . . . is a handsome well-built Town, standing upon an Eminence, which gives you a pleasant View from the River Delaware. The Dutch were the first Founders . . . (p. 356)

Oldmixon gives a list of ten kinds of fish found in Pennsylvania; Castelman repeats nine of these, omitting sturgeon, and adding dace, salmon, and gurnet (gurnard). Other passages may be compared on the subject of trees, fowl, and animals.

Castelman's specimen of the Indian language, referred to above by Cox, is borrowed, along with two other passages, from Gabriel Thomas's *An Account of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey*, published in London twenty-eight years earlier (1698). His pretence of knowing Thomas was doubtless a protective device, in case someone would recognize the parallel. I quote from the reprint published in 1903 by Burrows Bros. Co., Cleveland.

Thomas	Castelman
Their Language is Lofty and Elegant, but not Copious; One Word serveth in the stead of Three . . . Take here a Specimen.	. . . [their language] is very lofty and high sounding, but not copious, for one Word hath several Meanings. I'll give you, from my Friend Mr. Thomas, a short Specimen.
Hodi hita nee huska a peechi, nee, machi Pensilvania huska dogwachi, keshow a peechi nowa, huska hayly, Chetena koon peo.	Hodi hita nee huska apeechi, nee machi Pensylvania huska dogwachi keshow apeechi nowa, huska hayly chetena koon peo.
Thus in English:	Thus in English:
Farewel Friend, I will very quickly go to Pensilvania, very cold Moon will come presently, and very great hard frosts will come quickly. (p. 52)	Farewell, my Friend. I shall go shortly to Pensylvania. We shall have a cold Moon presently, and hard Frosts will soon follow. (p. 358)
The . . . first Inhabitants of this Country in their Original, are suppos'd by most People to have been of the Ten	The original Inhabitants of these Places are supposed to be the ten Tribes of the Jews that were scatter'd;

Scattered Tribes, for they resemble the Jews very much . . . (p. 23)

[Mr. Pen believes them to be the Jewish Race, but that Supposition is too chimerical . . . (Oldmixon, I, p. 164)]

but from whence they derive their Authority, ever for this Supposition, I can't imagine. (p. 357)

. . . that strange Creature, the Possam, she having a false Belly to swallow her Young ones, by which means she preserveth them from danger . . . Here is also that Remarkable Creature the Flying Squirel, having a kind of Skinny Wings, almost like those of the Batt . . . ; I have (my self) seen it fly from one Tree to another in the Woods . . . (pp. 31-32)

The Woods produce . . . a Creature call'd a Possum, that has a false Belly into which the young ones retire in time of Danger: Also the Flying-Squirrel, with Wings like those of a Bat; and I have often seen it fly from Tree to Tree. (p. 362)

II. Chronology

Castelman's insistance on recording precise dates affords an easy check on his veracity. The first two paragraphs of the narrative offer a glaring anachronism. He claims that he arrived in Charleston in the summer of 1709,

just when Captain Moor [i.e., Colonel James Moore, the governor of the Province] had made a Descent upon the Spaniards at St. Augustine . . . and return'd with considerable Booty . . . Some time after, the Spaniards, resenting the Usage of the English, fitted out five Sail of Men of War, and several Transports, to repay them in their own Coin (p. 334).

It so happens that this St. Augustine excursion took place in 1702; and the subsequent attack on Charleston by the Spaniards occurred in 1706, still three years prior to Castelman's visit.

The author's record of the number of days spent in various places makes it easy to compute the time that elapsed between his shipwreck (April 13th) and his subsequent arrival in Philadelphia, which could not have been earlier than May 10th. He says that he stayed in Philadelphia "near four Months," leaving there

on August 5th. He was actually there, by his dating, less than three months.

III. Improbabilities in the Story

Certain general features of the story throw suspicion on the author's truthfulness, such as his meticulous recording of dates, distances, and names (evidently to impress the reader), his pretended acquaintance with a considerable number of people (including three governors), and the shipwreck *cliché*.

In Charleston Castelman claims he was cured of the "Mortification of a Finger . . . by the Care and Advice of Madam Rhett." Although this suggests a personal experience, Castelman makes a gross misstatement of fact in saying that this woman was "the only good Surgeon on the Place," for it is well known that there was no lack of competent doctors in Charleston at the period he pretends to describe.

The shipwreck episode presents numerous implausible details. The ship's captain announces the approaching hazard of the storm "with Tears in his Eyes." Reaching shore, Castelman declares that none of those saved "had eat or drank for two Days," although it appears that they had been on their ship earlier that very day. He adds: ". . . to allay my Drouth, I stole by my self, urin'd in my Tobacco-Box, and drank it with as great a Gusto as ever I have done French Claret before or since." Other castaways who have had recourse to this last resort do not confirm Castelman's enjoyment of the ordeal. The benevolent stranger who happens along (ten miles from his home) in time to rescue the stranded party, offers them limes, which do not grow in northern North Carolina. Castelman's sea chest, containing his "Money, Linnen, and Books of Accounts," is discovered "floating on the Surface." If this was the usual kind of bound chest, it is unlikely that two men could carry it, one at a time, for a distance of ten miles. Castelman's watch, after receiving a thorough soaking in salt water, is still running in Philadelphia a month later.

On his way to Virginia, Castelman encounters a rattlesnake "near six Yards in Length." Granting allowable exaggeration in a time of panic, he would not, however, fail to observe the approximate length of a snake's rattle that he held in his own hand in Philadelphia. This rattle, he assures us, was "about a Yard and a half long."

In Philadelphia he received "many Obligations . . . from his Excellency Governor Evans." But Evans was not governor in the summer of 1710; he had been succeeded in 1709 by Charles Gookin.

At the time of the author's sailing from "Kakatan" (Kiquotan), he says that "there were upwards of two hundred Sail of Merchant-Men, besides four Sail of Men of War in our Convoy." This number of ships seems unduly large. On September 28th a severe storm arose, during which "about thirty of our Fleet founder'd." At a time of war, this would have assumed the proportions of a major naval catastrophe; no such loss, however, appears in Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs,* or in *The Secret Diary of William Byrd.*

IV. Geography of the Voyage

The most curious — and significant — index of Castelman's veracity is his parade of geographical details, particularly locations and distances. Passing quickly over his account of Charleston and Bermuda, in which he substantially (and innocently) transposes the number of houses that he assigns to Charleston (1000) and St. George (200), we arrive at the shipwreck. "I perceiv'd," says the author, "we were in View of Virginia, near Ronoke Sand-Banks;" and he later sails up "Ronoke Sound." Obviously his position was close to one-fourth down the coast of North Carolina, not in sight of Virginia. From the home of his rescuer (mentioned above) Castelman "then resolved to go up the River to wait on Colonel Carew [i.e., Thomas Cary], Deputy-Governor [*sic*] of North-Carolina, a Gentleman I had the Honour of

being acquainted with." The details of this trip are confusing. "We sail'd up Ronoke Sound . . . and at seven a-clock the next Morning stopp'd at Colonel Carew's Plantation, who . . . entertained us . . . handsomely. We took our leaves, and at eight a-clock the same Evening came before the Governour's House, situate on the River Notaway, which runs into the Ronoke about fifty Leagues from the Sea." Cary is correct enough, although this pretended visit falls in the period during which he was contesting the deputy-governorship with William Glover. The "Governour" refers evidently to the governor of Virginia. It seems curious that the seats of two governors should be chosen at points so far inland; however this may be, the Nottoway (Castelman follows Oldmixon's spelling Notaway) does not run into the Roanoke River.

The governor offers Castelman a horse "to go to Kakatan [Kiquotan, later Hampton, Va.], about 120 Leagues from the Place where we were . . ." From the Nottoway to the James River, the distance might be as much as 100 miles, but certainly not 360.

Arriving at Kiquotan, Castelman finds that the fleet will not sail for four months, and decides to spend the interim at Philadelphia, which he says is 200 miles from the sea. Leaving Philadelphia, he takes a boat down the Delaware River to the port of Lewis [Lewes]. He appears to know that this town is "built upon the Hoorkill [Hoorekill or Whorekill]," but adds that it is 20 leagues from the sea, and that "immediately below begins the Bay of Delaware." In reality, Lewes is at the southern extremity of the bay, practically on the seacoast.

Castelman's most preposterous statement is that "from Lewes we were to walk over an Isthmus of eight Mile, that parts Delaware River, and Chesapeak Bay, which would save us three or four Days Sailing . . ." If he had walked the sixty or seventy miles across the peninsula at this point, he would have remembered well that the distance was not eight miles.

After once reaching Kiquotan by way of the James River, the author would have done well to remain there, for on his return he seems to have forgotten its location. "Kakatan," he states, "lies about ten Leagues up the River of Chesapeak," and he actually arrives there by catching a small boat "coming up the [Chesapeake] Bay"!

Whether the author of this voyage ever saw America or not, his confused and extravagant narrative can only lead us to complete skepticism as to its informative value. In this respect, it can surely be no better than its printed sources; by drawing heavily on Oldmixon — himself a hack who had not visited the American colonies — it does not even approach the merit of a work like Thomas Anburey's *Travels through America*, which, though not authentic, at least has the distinction of being carefully pieced from the writings of credible travelers.[8]

If Chetwood is ever shown to be the author of Castelman's *Voyage*, this work will take its place with his *British Theatre*, which William T. Lowndes described as "a compilation full of the grossest blunders."[9] At the same time be it said that the story is well told and diverting; it most certainly accomplished its purpose in bringing entertainment to a public eager for new vistas of other lands. It is a typical production of an age when readers neither demanded nor, as a rule, received as frank an indication of the author's intention as is found in the preface to Ned Ward's *A Trip to Jamaica*, 1698: "I only entertain you with what I intend for your diversion, not instruction."

[8] This work is the subject of a recent study by Mr. W. J. Bell, Jr., in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVII, 1943, pp. 23-36.

[9] *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, Bohn's edition, 1864, I, p. 436.

Philadelphia Contributions to the Book Arts and Book Trade, 1796-1810

By H. Glenn Brown

THE purpose of this paper is to bring together as an organized unit the available information concerning the book arts and book trade in Philadelphia at the turn of the eighteenth century. Originally intended as a part of a directory of Philadelphia printers, publishers, booksellers, artists, engravers, etc. for 1800-1810, this survey evolved as a separate unit when, like some lower forms of life, the directory began to swell and to extend itself both fore and aft. Hence the paper is left to achieve its own maturity and self-sufficiency. As it is distinctly a survey, it presents no new information and little, if any, original research, but it does bring together for the first time a great deal of widely-scattered material concerning an important period in a very important place.

The period is important in that it represents the beginnings of far-reaching transitions: first, from reliance on English design and manufacture to considerable self-sufficiency, and second, from hand work to machine work. Indeed, the first transition was fairly well accomplished during the period; the second is suggested by a growing impetus.

Before 1796 most of the apparatus and materials for American printers were imported. Presses, types, ink and even much of the paper came from abroad. What American manufacture there was was quite localized. Buell, in Connecticut, and Fox and Bey,

in Philadelphia, had cast type; in fact, Fox seems to have cast enough type for Sauer's standing Bible; Ramage was constructing small wooden presses in Philadelphia; Fox made lampblack and ink; and there were numerous paper mills of perhaps a little more than local importance. But for the most part these activities benefited only the master printers fortunate enough to have the skilled workmen in their employ, or printers in their immediate vicinity. And even these could depend upon the American craftsmen for only part of their needs. How meager the domestic facilities were is made concrete by the timely story of Nathan Sellers, a wireworker of Darby, now a suburb of Philadelphia. In July, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved that papermakers should stay at their trade, but gave little thought to wireworkers. So Nathan Sellers joined the New Jersey Associators and was off to fight the enemy when it was discovered that he was the only man near Philadelphia who could make and repair paper moulds. The papermakers petitioned Congress for Mr. Sellers, and in August the Congress resolved that he be recalled as indispensable to the trade. So Mr. Sellers was brought back, but for a while at least, according to Mr. Weeks's *History of Paper-Manufacturing*,[1] he worked exclusively for the government. What the petitioning papermakers did is left to the imagination. At the end of the war Sellers expanded his business and engaged in the manufacture of papermaking machinery. He died in 1830 at the age of eighty.

This bit of personal narrative typifies the transition taking place in the printing industry. There was the precarious dependence of the pre-revolutionary times and then the growing self-sufficiency of the independent states. Part of this growth was forced, not only by the Revolution, but also by the drastic acts which followed it and which led to the War of 1812. In 1806 came the Non-importation Act and in 1807 the British rejoinder ordering American ships to France to clear through British ports,

[1] L. H. Weeks. *History of Paper-Manufacturing in the United States, 1690-1916*, New York, 1916, pp. 55-56.

which in turn brought Napoleon's confiscation order on all cargoes so cleared. Finally, in 1807, came the dreadful Embargo Act, forbidding ships to leave the United States. Truly, that was a forcing of growth that nearly killed the plant.

But the rest of the history and the great fruitfulness of our printing industries is not the province of this paper. What Philadelphia contributed from the turn of the century to about 1810 is. No other American city was her superior during that period in the development of American printing. Where else, indeed, would one find so important a group of contributions as were made by Ramage and Clymer, press makers; Fox, Bey, and Binny and Ronaldson, typefounders; Johnson, ink manufacturer; and Carey, publisher and organizer? Considering the sum total of what these and other citizens contributed, Philadelphia was without a peer during this period of transition and development.

The most significant press makers of the period were two Philadelphians, Adam Ramage and George Clymer. Until very recently the generally accepted facts concerning Adam Ramage were that he was the first American to establish a press manufactory of national repute, that he invented a triple-thread screw press in 1796 and later began the use of iron beds in wooden presses, and that he made a very popular proof press, a two-pull press simply known as the Ramage Press, and later, through his own manufacture, popularized the Ruthven Press in America. He was credited with being primarily an adapter rather than an innovator; a skillful craftsman, efficient manager and shrewd businessman. Now information has been published which makes necessary the revision of some of these facts.

Adam Ramage and His Presses,[2] by Milton W. Hamilton, draws upon such sources as Joel Munsell's diary and correspondence and the Mathew Carey Account Books to present much new information about Ramage and his work. This new evidence indi-

[2] Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1942. (Keepsake No. 15.)

cates that Ramage arrived in Philadelphia in June, 1795, began manufacturing presses in 1800 at the earliest, and improved the screw in 1807 by enlarging its diameter and reducing the pitch so that the impressing power was nearly doubled. The first mention of an iron bed in a Ramage press was found in the Carey Accounts for March 16, 1820. Furthermore, by detailed description of presses known to have been manufactured by Ramage, sometimes with the location of examples still in existence, Mr. Hamilton makes it clear that Ramage manufactured presses other than those which properly bore his name and that consequently any unqualified mention of the Ramage Press is likely to be confusing or misleading. Evidently to most of his contemporaries and to some later historians any press manufactured by Ramage was a Ramage Press. It is not to be wondered at when we read that Adams's *Typographia* in 1837 credited Ramage with the manufacture of 1250 presses to that date. These Ramage presses were distributed widely; they were almost all of them traditional enough in design to be easily operated, repaired, or taken apart and moved by the ordinary pressman. Moreover, they could produce excellent work with traditional techniques and, when the competition of the new iron presses began, they were much cheaper.

The general estimate of Ramage's contribution remains about the same, perhaps a little higher even than before. He was primarily an adapter of the traditional screw press, although Mr. Hamilton shows that some of the adaptations might better be classed as innovations. He established the first permanent press manufactory in the United States, and managed it so efficiently and successfully that his presses were standard equipment for years and continued to be popular long after the introduction of the improved iron presses. What Mr. Hamilton has done confirms and reinforces this estimate, but he also corrects errors of fact and interpretation and adds significant segments to the knowledge of Ramage and his contributions. To this writer only

one thing mars the pleasure with which he turns the neatly printed and illustrated pages of *Adam Ramage and His Presses:* it does not bear a Philadelphia imprint.

While Ramage was building a substantial business for himself with his adaptation and improvement of the traditional wooden screw presses, Clymer was busy with the invention of a press manufactured entirely of iron and without any screw against the platen. Though Stanhope, in England, had manufactured an iron press, Clymer's Columbian Press was the first iron press in America, and the first anywhere in which the pressure was exerted entirely by means of levers and fulcrums. The press is described in detail by Mr. Pottinger in Chapter X of the Dolphin *History of the Printed Book*,[3] but altogether too little is known about its early development and the subsequent history of its inventor.

According to the meager reports available, Clymer started work on the invention about 1807—he is listed as a press maker in the city directory for 1805—and introduced it in England in 1817. McCulloch, in 1814, in his notes to Thomas, writes that he has not seen the press and that although Clymer has promised him a description of it together with a "figure," he expects to be disappointed.[4] And disappointed he must have been, for he does not mention the press in later notes, and the earliest technical descriptions Mr. Wroth has been able to find are those of the Englishmen, Johnson and Hansard, in the years 1824 and 1825.[5] Carl Mitman, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, may have the explanation for this in the statement that American printers were too poor to afford the $400 the press cost, although there was a testimonial for the press by nineteen New York printers in Van

[3] *The Dolphin; a Journal of the Making of Books.* No. 3, New York, Limited Editions Club, 1938.

[4] William McCulloch. . . . *Additions to Thomas's History of Printing.* In: *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., v. 31, Worcester, April, 1921, p. 210.

[5] *The Book in America*, New York, 1939, p. 66.

Winkle's *Printers' Guide* of 1818. The press, however, was never popular in America, and does not seem to have been able to meet the later competition of the Smith and Washington iron press. Perhaps Clymer made a mistake in introducing his press in England. One wonders if there were not some reason other than the high cost of the press that prompted this move. Suffice it to repeat that it was introduced in England, was popular there, and that Clymer died in London, August 27, 1834, after having received a medal from the King of the Netherlands and a present from the Czar for his invention.

Clymer and Ramage were the two important press makers in this period of American printing, and there can be no doubt that in the lives of the printers Ramage's work was far the more important. But Clymer's use of iron and of a new principle by which greater power was exerted with less effort forecast the new era of iron and power. The days of the carpenters and joiners as press makers were numbered. There were others all ready to follow Clymer's lead. In fact there may have been one to precede him; but if so, not with any success. In the *United States Gazette* for January 28 and July 9, 1802, appears the advertisement of Henry Ouram, press maker. In the Philadelphia directories for 1800-1802 this Mr. Ouram is identified as a blacksmith!

In 1796, about a year after Ramage arrived in Philadelphia, Binny and Ronaldson established what became the first permanent type manufacturing business, a firm which continued operation under various managements until finally absorbed by the American Typefounders Company. To these two Philadelphians belongs the credit for first making a capitalized business of typefounding in America and making it successful, but they were not the first Philadelphians to cast type, nor even the first to cast it in quantity.

There was Jacob Bey, who, according to McCulloch, made punches and cast type in his kitchen. Mr. Wroth thinks it likely that Bey cut the type for the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of April 7,

1775, the first newspaper to be printed from types made in America.[6] There was also John Bayne whose "small pica was a thin-faced letter, but excellent metal, with a small portion of silver intermixed; for it was derived from the ruins and rubbish of St. Domingo."[7] And then there was Justus Fox, farrier, apothecary, bleeder and cupper, dentist, engraver, cutler, turner, lampblack and printing ink manufacturer, and typefounder. It was this Fox, who, with Bey, made punches from the models recently imported by Christopher Sauer II, and cast the type for Sauer's German Bible of 1776. Nichols, in his essay on Fox, gives some indication of the size of this undertaking when he tells us that it was a font of pica for a standing Bible, 72,000 of the letter o being cast.[8] And through McCulloch we know that Fox cast type for other printers. As late as 1814 McCulloch wrote that he had a set of Fox's Germantown capitals and figures in Long Primer which he had used annually for twenty-five years and hoped to use for many more.[9] But he also adds that when Binny was told that Fox's type outwore his, Binny replied that they were so devilish ugly the longest wearing could not mar their deformity.

Perhaps Binny's remark was justified, or perhaps it was simply the scorn of a self-assured professional for an amateur. At any rate, later in McCulloch's notes for the same year, 1814, he declared that Binny and Ronaldson rivaled any foundry in the world for beauty of its types, and excelled all in economy of operation.[10] James Ronaldson, a baker, furnished the money for establishing this firm. Archibald Binny, who had to smuggle his equipment out of Scotland, was its manager and chief operator. Binny already knew his trade; he did not have to learn to cut a punch, make the matrix, cast the metal, finish the type. But he

[6] L. C. Wroth. *The First Work with American Types.* In: *Bibliographical Essays; a Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, 1924, pp. 139-140.

[7] McCulloch, op. cit., p. 187.

[8] C. L. Nichols. *Justus Fox. . . .* In: *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., v. 25, Worcester, April, 1915, p. 61.

[9] Op. cit., p. 168.

[10] Op. cit., p. 188.

had no easy time of it. It is a measure of his later success that in the beginning printers were still so skeptical of American types that they hesitated to invest in Binny and Ronaldson's even though they sold for three cents a pound less than those imported. Then, too, the firm had labor problems. Oswald wonders where in America they would find the five or six journeymen typefounders they advertised for in the *Aurora* of May 12, 1797,[11] and McCulloch tells us that parents would not let their children work in the foundry because it was considered unwholesome.

Just when or how the turn in the tide of their affairs came is not clear, but from the meager accounts of contemporaries it seems certain that one factor was that their types were really good. McCulloch says that two years after they started they had more orders than they could handle, and by 1810 we know from an advertisement in the *Aurora*, August 28, that Ronaldson had just returned from Europe with a supply of regulus of antimony, that the price of the type was to be raised, and that the firm had agents in Boston, New York, and Baltimore. Mease in his *Picture of Philadelphia*, 1811, pridefully states: "The typefoundery of Binny and Ronaldson supplies nearly all the numerous printing offices in the United States."[12] While this statement is probably an exaggeration fostered by civic pride, the names of the printers which have been gleaned from the firm's account-books for the first five years show 49 accounts in Philadelphia, 6 in other Pennsylvania localities, 22 in New York City, 7 in Virginia, 4 in Maryland, 2 in Georgia, 1 in Tennessee, and scattered other accounts to the total of 114.[13] These facts speak for themselves. One wonders if McCulloch could help smiling at Binny's slur upon Fox's devilish ugly types.

To the present writer, it would seem fair to end this account of Binny and Ronaldson's work here, but some will recall that

[11] J. C. Oswald. *Printing in the Americas*, New York, 1937, p. 37.

[12] James Mease. *Picture of Philadelphia* . . . Philadelphia, 1811, p. 75.

[13] Mackellar, Smiths and Jordan. *1796-1896, One Hundred Years*. Philadelphia, 1896, p. [12.]

Binny patented improvements in the mould which increased the speed of casting, and they might deplore the omission of this fact. It is true that this invention did enable the firm to fill orders more quickly, but until it can be proved that it also improved the type faces, it seems of small significance in the contribution of this firm, particularly since within twenty-seven years Bruce perfected a type-casting machine which was to revolutionize the industry. Binny's improved mould can never have more than a very minor significance in the history of American printing, but Binny and Ronaldson's successful establishment of a permanent business is a historic event of first importance. For the first time, American printers in general could turn to an American firm for type comparable to what they could import. Before 1810 American printers could obtain good domestic presses and type, and the greater number of these, by far, came from Philadelphia.

The same place, with the mills along the creeks in its vicinity, furnished more printing paper at this time than any of the other metropolitan centers; but it seems to be primarily the quantity of paper furnished of which Philadelphia may boast. Perhaps this is too strong a statement, for Philadelphia and other centers in Pennsylvania led all other American communities in paper production for many years. But in the adoption of new inventions and general development of the industry, Philadelphia lagged behind other communities during at least the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

During Colonial days, the situation was different; the story of the Rittenhouses, Wilcox and others is too well known to need repetition. But after the establishment of the mills, and scattered applications of home-made improvements, such as the water wheel for glazing, not much inventive ingenuity seems to have been applied to paper manufacture.

McCulloch declares that John Reader, an English immigrant indentured to Wilcox, had introduced English mechanical improvements, especially an engine for cutting rags, probably simi-

lar to the Hollander, and that he constructed or superintended the construction of numerous mills in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.[14] And although Weeks thinks that McCulloch gives him too much credit, Reader seems to have been the most progressive force in Philadelphia paper manufacture toward the close of the eighteenth century. Wilcox thought enough of him to pay him wages during the term of his indenture, but he also played safe by keeping the indentures, knowing that it was primarily Reader's uncontrollable temper which had forced him from Maidstone to Dublin and thence to Philadelphia. There he died, a poor man, about 1803 in the home of John Righter, an aged Mill Creek papermaker.

As for experiments with new materials for paper, the present writer, in this limited survey, has found no evidence after Franklin's experiments with asbestos, Dewee and Gorgas's manufacture from cotton-stone, or rotten-stone,[15] and Crevecour's presentation to the American Philosophical Society in 1789 of a book composed of paper made from barks and roots of trees and plants. Undoubtedly there were other trials, but in general the papermakers seem to have been so busy collecting rags to meet the urgent demands upon their manufacture that there was little time for further experiment.

The transition to a new material for paper was slow, and was not finally achieved until long after machinery took the place of hand labor in the manufacture. That momentous change did not begin to be felt in America until 1820, when it is believed that a machine was set up at the Gilpin Mill on the Brandywine, at a site which Mr. Wroth more justly associates with Wilmington than with Philadelphia, as Mr. Hunter has done. In conclusion, it may be significant to note that in the accounts of the Literary Fairs held between 1802-1806 it is easy to find mention of the prize winner for printing inks, but, though there were prizes

[14] Mackellar, Smiths and Jordan, op. cit., p. 126.

[15] Ibid., p. 139.

offered for paper, none of the readily available accounts of the fairs names the winners in this field.

The prize winner for ink was Jacob Johnson, and a pretty good ink it must have been, since the committee on awards reported that it was superior to a specimen from London examined at the same time. The writer assumes that Johnson had some competition, but the only other important inkmaker of the period known to him is that Justus Fox who cast type for Sauer, and Fox died in 1805 at the age of seventy. According to Nichols,[16] Fox at one time supplied ink to a large proportion of the Pennsylvania printers and to many in the southern colonies. Nichols states also that by 1815 "Germantown black" stood for the best quality of lampblack, a statement notable for the fact that by 1815 Fox had been dead for ten years. However, Emanuel, Fox's son, continued the manufacture of lampblack, and it is not yet known that Wrigley and Johnson, who by 1815 had been in business eleven years, made their own. Three years later, in Van Winkle's *Printers' Guide*, Hoit's Printers' Warehouse advertised the inks of Mather and Prout of New York, John I. Wells of Hartford, and Johnson of Philadelphia.

Whether or not the order of names is climactic, Johnson was one of the most important ink manufacturers in the states. The story of the firm is best summarized by Oswald,[17] from whose work the following facts are taken. With the assistance of Francis Wrigley, Jacob Johnson, a printer and bookseller, made the ink which won him the Literary Fair prize, and in the same year, 1804, he established a separate business of ink manufacture run by his nephew, Charles Johnson, under the firm name of Wrigley and Johnson. Jacob continued as a printer and bookseller, specializing in children's books. In 1814 Wrigley retired, and Charles Johnson continued the firm under the name, Philadelphia Printing Ink Manufactory. Ten years later he advertised that he had

[16] Mackellar, Smiths and Jordan, op. cit., p. 60.

[17] Ibid., pp. 165-167.

established agents in several parts of the union and was supplying ink to half the printers of the United States, and to-day, on the original site at Tenth and Lombard, the firm continues under the name of Charles Eneu Johnson. This is a truly remarkable link with the past in that neither the family name and control nor the location of the establishment has changed since the founding in 1804.

The history of the prize or prizes won by Johnson is confused. Bradsher says that the American Company of Booksellers in 1802 offered a fifty-dollar medal for printing ink and the same award in 1804 for paper and binding,[18] but Nichols shows that in 1804 there was an award of twenty-five dollars offered for ink and that Joel Munsell's Diary for 1805 states that the award went to Johnson.[19] Definite proof of an earlier award is reproduced in Oswald, pp. 163 and 165, in an advertisement from the *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register* with an extract from the minutes of the Philadelphia Company of Booksellers, dated January 13, 1804, and signed by Carey and Bradford. This states that Jacob Johnson was awarded the fifty-dollar gold medal "in conformity to the resolution passed last August." As this was a report of a committee of the Philadelphia Company of Booksellers, it suggests that the award may have been of only local concern and that the Literary Fair followed the example set by the local organization. For this reason and to supply other gaps in our knowledge of the various awards, there is need for further investigation.

In fact, there is much in the period that deserves further investigation, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to pursue the facts to exhaustion. What remains to be noted can only be outlined, with references to other sources, but the total omission of these notes would neglect one of the most significant tendencies

[18] E. L. Bradsher. *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher* . . . New York, 1912, p. 22.

[19] C. L. Nichols. *The Literary Fair in the United States.* In: *Bibliographical Essays; a Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, 1924, pp. 88-89.

of the period and the important part which Philadelphia played in it. That was the tendency toward organization in the industry of printing and the business of bookselling.

Though the Philadelphia Typographical Society, organized in 1802, had been preceded by the Typographical Society of New York in 1795, which was reorganized in 1799 as the Franklin Typographical Society of Journeyman Printers, the Philadelphia society first achieved permanence. The Franklin Typographical Society was disbanded about 1804, and the New York Typographical Society, which became a permanent organization, was not founded until 1809. According to Stewart's *Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers*,[20] the constitution which the Philadelphia printers adopted in November, 1802, is believed to be the oldest constitution of a labor organization extant in the United States. The organization was effective in gaining and maintaining wage demands, and benefited its members in other ways not unfamiliar to present-day labor. Moreover, to all appearances it tried honestly to maintain good standards of workmanship, but in its attempt at exclusiveness it ran smack into a familiar difficulty. This is illustrated amusingly, but convincingly, in a pair of advertisements in the *Gazette of the United States* for August 19, 1803. The first reads as follows: "*Sober* young men from the country who have been accustomed to press work will certainly meet with employment at the highest prices on application to —" (Signed by Robert Carr and four others). Immediately below is another advertisement signed by the president, vice-president, secretary and other directors of the Philadelphia Typographical Society which assures all sober young men now in the country and accustomed to press work that there are plenty of workmen of that description in the city, that the advertisements enticing others there are often delusive, and that they unfortunately sometimes cause the undutiful and thoughtless to

[20] Ethelbert Stewart. *Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers.* In: U. S. Department of Labor. *Bulletin*, v. 11, no. 61, November, 1905.

stray from their masters. Below the signatures to this advertisement appears this significant request: "The editors of the Baltimore *Telegraph* and the New York *Advertiser* are requested to insert the above daily three times and furnish their accounts to William Little, Secretary of the Philadelphia Typographical Society." Obviously it was far too early for the closed shop, but it was not too early for a printers' union to exert more than local influence. How much the early unions co-operated with each other, the extent of their influence, and the causes of their decline into purely beneficial societies after 1815 is included in an admirable monograph by George E. Barnett: *The Printers, a Study in American Trade Unionism.*[21] According to him the Philadelphia Society, in order better to preserve its benefit funds, became incorporated on January 17, 1810, and thereafter made no attempts at maintaining price lists. As a trade union it was dead.

The other significant organization of the period was that of the booksellers, the American Company of Booksellers, and the person primarily responsible for it was Mathew Carey, the distinguished publisher and bookseller of Philadelphia, founder of the firm that exists to-day as the well-known medical publishing house of Lea and Febiger. Carey was not only one of the most successful publishers of the times, but also a leading spirit in political, economic and humanitarian affairs. Indeed, he remains so important a figure for this period that it is difficult to consider so small a portion of his work as is necessary for the limits of this paper. As we know from Bradsher's study,[22] he had received in 1800 a letter containing some suggestions for a Stationers Company and, evidently acting upon this idea, formulated his own conception of a booksellers' organization to operate in conjunction with literary fairs similar to those held at Leipzig and Frankfort. According to Growell's *Book-Trade Bibliography*, the organization was accomplished in 1801, with Mathew Carey as first

[21] In: *American Economic Association Quarterly*, 3d ser., v. 10, no. 3, October, 1909.

[22] Op. cit., pp. 19-22.

president, but in his autobiography Carey says that circulars concerning a literary fair were sent to all booksellers and printers in the United States in December, 1801, that a constitution was drawn up, and the first meeting held at New York, June 1, 1802, when Hugh Gaine was elected president, Mathew Carey secretary, and the organization entitled American Company of Booksellers. Growoll's explanation of his statement is that the New York booksellers could not attend the 1801 meeting because of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, and although he gives no authority for his statement and although all other writings examined accept the version in Carey's autobiography, it is quite probable that Growoll has had access to records to substantiate his statement.

Be that as it may, the first formal meeting seems to have been the New York meeting in June of 1802, at which the following resolutions were adopted: 1. To improve the quality of books published. 2. To discourage republication of books of which there is already a supply. 3. To cease importation of books of which there are good U. S. editions at a discount. 4. To hold a fair the first Tuesday in April at New York and the first Tuesday in October at Philadelphia. 5. To form booksellers' associations in each city, each member to forward specimens of printing and paper with terms of sale to secretaries of the association for the information of the members.

The October, 1802, meeting was postponed until December 7 because of the fever in Philadelphia. The third meeting was held in New York in June, 1803, and the fourth meeting in New York, June 18, 1804. It was at this fair that the twenty-five dollar prize for ink was offered, and received by Jacob Johnson in 1805, according to Nichols's *Literary Fair in the United States*. Also at this time it was decided to hold future meetings in Newark, N. J. The last recorded meeting occurred in June, 1806. Carey charges the failure primarily to the flood of cheap editions by country printers, distributed by exchange to the great disadvantage of the larg-

er publishers, and although Nichols points out other possible causes, Carey's explanation is probably the one which any of the large publishers would have offered. Carey admitted that the fair flourished only a couple of years and then "dragged its slow length along" for four or five more before sinking into oblivion. McCulloch, writing several years later, commented bitterly that the fair was one source of the disadvantages under which the trade then labored, and denounced the Society of Booksellers as useless, if not pernicious.[23] But from his own admission that he never joined these organizations it is clear that he pursued his business with a fierce independence that scorned co-operation.

That co-operation, however, did produce something of great interest to bibliographers: a trade journal with lists of books. In February, 1804, the Philadelphia Company of Booksellers published a four-page news sheet called *The Library, or Philadelphia Literary Reporter*, published every two weeks at the beginning and later every six weeks. In 1809 it was published monthly to September by David Hogan. This is probably the first trade journal of American bookselling, and the fact that it was published by a local organization suggests a need for further study of the local organizations stimulated by the American Company and also of the leading spirit of the whole program, Mathew Carey of Philadelphia.

It would be erroneous to leave the impression that bookselling of the times was all carried on at the lofty plane suggested by the American Company of Booksellers and the *Philadelphia Literary Reporter*. The directories list "walking stationers," who carried their stock of almanacs, books and other supplies from door to door; and already drugs and books had got together. William Y. Birch, publisher and stationer, seems to have spent most of his advertising appropriation for the patent medicines which with books and paper shared the shelves of his shop. But no one argued the efficacy of this combination so eloquently as Parson Weems,

[23] *American Economic Association Quarterly*, op. cit., p. 137.

the indefatigable itinerant book agent of Mathew Carey. In 1809 Weems received a proposition from Lea of Baltimore, the "author" of several popular patent medicines, to permit him to stock the medicines in the bookstores which Carey was establishing in the southern states, and Weems urged the project upon Carey in his letter of August 12, 1809.

> I pray you laugh not . . . [he writes.] You may make much money by them. He will give you 30 pr Cent. You will allow me 10 to our agents & reserve 10 to yourself, which will, I am morally certain, pay a large *part of the Expense* connected with your ponderous and costly undertaking. And this you can do without *risking* or *losing* one cent. . . . Besides, remember that among the numbers running to your Bookstores for his Anti-bilious Pills or Vermifuges, some may pick up some of your good books that may purge their minds of the far worse worms of Error & Vice.[24]

This scheme doesn't seem to have suited Carey, even though it pointed out such praiseworthy possibilities. However, other schemes of the shrewd, if over-optimistic, Weems benefited Carey greatly, and the almost daily letters which Weems wrote to him form an indispensable source of information on bookselling and related activities of the period. They have been edited in a fine edition by Mrs. E. E. F. Skeel, and it is tempting to quote from them at length, for they are not only pertinent, but also fresh and lively. This most colorful bookseller of the period has left a colorful record, and an informative one as well.

It seems fitting, therefore, to close this survey of the Philadelphia book arts during the first part of the nineteenth century with a series of Weems's comments on binding and Philadelphia binders. Most of these were directed to Caleb Wayne, for whom Weems was trying to get subscribers to Marshall's life of Washington.

They not only name Philadelphia binders and criticize their work, but also bring the period alive. There is an exuberance and vehemence in the following remarks which keep the time fresh.

[24] *Mason Locke Weems; His Work and Ways.* Edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, New York, 1929, v. 2, p. 418.

As *none* of my Subs *give a fig for a book in boards*, [he writes] they have, *almost to a man*, order'd them to be neatly bound in *Calf*. This will require, on the part of the Binders, a great deal of care to have the *Pasteboards* all of the *same dimensions* the bands and filletting most nicely *equi-distant*, and the ornamenting *exactly alike*. . . . I am worse than vex'd by the communication in yours of May the 2d. 87 to 93 [cents] per Vol. in Elegant Calf!!! You amaze me! Well, I've brought up my Pigs to a fine market truly! As there is honesty in man, I looked to get by the binding 12½ Cents per Vol at the least. When I was last in Phila you told me you had a talk with a Binder whose charges were to the tune above mentioned, but you added that he was an *extortioning* Dog—and yet you have chosen to employ the *extortioning* Dog!!! Mr. Cochran (Brother of Stewart, Printer, 2d street) wd have done so heavy a work at 75 Cents pr Vol. in Elegant Calf— . . . I'm in a fever about Hyde—too much attention can't be pd. to the Binding. The Eye is every thing—charm that and you are safe. They won't *look at boards*—I tell you again the eye is all, all, all! . . . If Oats cou'd adopt Hydes style of ornamenting it wd do gloriously—Oats binds infinitely the best but his ornamenting is rather too simple, too *Unshowy!* Attend to this— . . . The Binders! the Binders! the Binders! Never did a Wild Asse's Colt so tremble at thought of a Lion as I do at thought of the binders. . . . For God's sake speak *every day* to the Binders.[25]

These are not all of Weems's comments on the Philadelphia binders. There are others just as pungent, but this paper has reached its back cover. The survey of the place and period must end, just as an end was soon to come to much of what has been described. It was not long until the machine changed most of the processes—the type-founding, the paper-making, the printing and the binding. And along with these changes, though not due to them, came Philadelphia's decline as the national publishing center. Perhaps it is Parson Weems's part that has changed least of all.

[25] These are scattered remarks arranged here for effectiveness. Most of them were addressed to Caleb Wayne, but a few were to Carey. They are located in volume 2 of the letters, as follows: pp. 292, 299, 303, 304, 251, 316.

The Sources and Revisions of Parkman's *Pontiac*

By Howard H. Peckham

WHEN Francis Parkman finished his *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the War of the North American Tribes Against the English Colonies After the Conquest of Canada* in 1851, he wrote in the preface that the book "aims to portray the American forest and the American Indian at the period when both received their final doom." There is much more in the volume than this, but it is Parkman's account of the Indian uprising under Pontiac which I propose to examine, offering a critical account of the sources Parkman used and of his evaluation of them both at the time of composition and during the republication of ten editions of this classic.

I say "classic" advisedly. For ninety years this historical work has stood as the authentic, complete, and most readable narrative of an important episode in American colonial history. Parkman has been criticized for injecting too much drama and color into his *Pontiac*, for not maintaining a closer unity to his announced subject, and for carelessness in certain details which probably was due to his physical handicaps. Yet the main facts which he presented and interpreted have rarely been questioned, perhaps because the task of finding and re-examining the sources he consulted was too formidable. Now, happily, many of the manuscripts which Parkman saw have been printed, some of those which were in England and France have since come to this country, new sources have been discovered, and scholars working in related fields have increased our knowledge of British and

French policies, of Indian life, of frontier fur trading, etc. Therefore it is easier to-day to study the foundation of Parkman's work and the frame he erected on it.

Parkman planned in 1845 to write of the Indian uprising under Pontiac. That year he made a trip into the region of the war, covering the ground from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh, Niagara, Detroit, and as far north as Sault Ste. Marie. He viewed the localities of old forts and interviewed descendants of participants. The next year, 1846, he made a second journey west from St. Louis, going as far as the Rocky Mountains. On this trip he traveled and lived with various Indian tribes. On his return to Boston he postponed starting the Pontiac story and dictated an account of the West called *The Oregon Trail*. It appeared serially in *The Knickerbocker Magazine* in 1847 and was published in book form in 1849.

Parkman's health had rapidly grown worse and he was forced to devote the years 1847 and 1848 to medical treatment. He obtained no relief for his eyes or his nerves. Nevertheless, with resolute cheerfulness and courageous determination he took up the task of compiling his Pontiac narrative in 1848. Often able to work only a few minutes a day, unable to read, and dependent on a secretary and agents for information and for writing, it is a wonder that he could finish so monumental a work in three years.

Pontiac was to be but one in a series of volumes he projected to cover the history of France and England in America. In fact, *Pontiac* is the final book in the series, although written first. Despite his continued invalidism, Parkman lived to complete his series and to revise the various parts.

Because of the popularity and reputation achieved by Parkman's *Pontiac*, many people have assumed that he was the first to publish a sketch of the chief and an account of the war he started. This impression is untrue; there were several printed narratives extant for Parkman to use and incorporate into his history.

First were the contemporary accounts:

Robert Rogers published his *Journals* and his *Concise Account of North America* both in 1765. The next year he put out a dramatic tragedy called *Ponteach* which, although never acted, did set forth this qualified observer's view of the reasons for the revolt against British domination. Major Rogers had received the surrender of Detroit from the French commandant in 1760 and declared that he met Pontiac on his way to that post. He was also active in the Battle of Bloody Run, on July 31, 1763, during Pontiac's siege of Fort Detroit.

Prof. William Smith, a friend of Col. Henry Bouquet, wrote *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in . . . 1764 . . . under the Command of Henry Bouquet,* which was published in Philadelphia in 1765. It illuminated one of the closing episodes of Pontiac's War. Benjamin Franklin had written of another incident of the war, the riot of the Paxton Boys, in his *Narrative of the Late Massacres in Lancaster County,* Philadelphia, 1764.

Lieut. Philip Pittman, in his *Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi,* London, 1770, offered a good description of the Illinois country to which Pontiac turned after his failure at Detroit. Thomas Mante included Pontiac's revolt in his *History of the Late War in America,* London, 1772. Lieut. Mante was aide to Col. John Bradstreet when that officer brought reinforcements to Detroit in 1764 and relieved the gallant defender, Major Henry Gladwin.

Eastern newspapers published letters from officers and traders at Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Niagara in 1763 and 1764.

Other narratives and histories appeared steadily thereafter. Capt. Jonathan Carver, who was not a participant in Pontiac's War, published an inaccurate summary of the trouble in his *Travels,* 1778. Thomas Morris included his journal of 1764 in his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse,* 1791. Capt. Morris had been with Bradstreet's expedition and on special detached duty met

Pontiac up the Maumee River. Alexander Henry, a fur trader at Fort Michilimackinac in 1763 when it was surprised by the Indians, did not publish his *Narrative* until 1809.

Archibald Loudon collected *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages*, chiefly stories of former Indian captives, which he published at Carlisle in two volumes in 1808 and 1811. This book is the last of the accounts of Pontiac's War which were published by men who lived at the time the event took place.

The second generation continued the chronicling:

George Heriot visited Detroit before writing his *Travels through the Canadas*, 1807. Lewis Cass began collecting material for a biography of Pontiac in the early 1820's, and his agent, C. C. Trowbridge, interviewed survivors of the siege in 1824. This material was used by Cass for his *Discourse* on Pontiac's siege of Detroit before the Historical Society of Michigan in 1829, which essay was published the next year. Henry Schoolcraft, a friend of Cass and Indian agent in the Northwest, added considerably to the knowledge of Great Lakes Indians and Pontiac in particular by publication of his *Narrative Journal*, 1821, and *Algic Researches*, 1839, and other works. Then S. G. Drake and B. B. Thatcher each published a volume of Indian biography in 1832, containing a sketch of Pontiac. James Lanman produced a *History of Michigan* in 1839 having a chapter on the siege of Detroit. James Wimer retold the story of Pontiac in his *Events in Indian History*, 1842. J. N. Nicollet in his *Report . . . of the Upper Mississippi River*, 1843, related the story prevalent in St. Louis of Pontiac's assassination. S. G. Goodrich included Pontiac in his *Lives of Celebrated Indian Chiefs*, 1844. George Featherstonhaugh printed two important contemporary letters, by Major Gladwin and Capt. Etherington, in his *Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*, 1847.

Thus by the time Parkman commenced his researches there was a respectable body of literature in the field. To be sure, these

books contained contradictory statements, gaps of information, and erroneous interpretations, requiring the most critical use. Parkman saw all of these publications, with the exception of Morris's *Miscellanies* and probably Wimer's *Events*.[1] Still he knew that more information must exist and he did a great deal of pioneer research. When he visited Detroit he obtained from Lewis Cass copies of the interviews with the survivors taken in 1824 and a copy of the "Pontiac Ms.," a diary of the siege now ascribed to Robert Navarre. He also talked with descendants of old families and viewed the scenes of the principal action of Pontiac's War. He uncovered a few manuscripts in the possession of the McDougall family, whose ancestor had been a lieutenant in the garrison and a captive of Pontiac in 1763.

As the Indian uprising covered several states, Parkman took notes on the Pennsylvania archives relative to the attacks on Forts Pitt and Ligonier and to Col. Bouquet's punitive expedition. He also secured copies of some of Sir William Johnson's papers from those in the New York Secretary of State's office and those owned by William L. Stone, Jr. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, Johnson was particularly concerned with the disturbance in the West.

The absence of letters from the commander of Fort Detroit, Major Gladwin, and from the French officers in Illinois stirred Parkman to look abroad. He inquired in London at the Public Record Office and the British Museum, and in Paris at the Archives of the Minister of Marine. It was a rewarding search; much material still in manuscript was available. As Parkman could not travel to Europe, he had to employ special agents. In London he secured the services of Henry Stevens, antiquarian bookseller lately removed from Vermont, to supervise the selection and copying of manuscripts there. In Paris Parkman hired Benjamin Perley Poore, who had already been engaged by the

[1] At least Wimer's book is not cited in Parkman's footnotes or in his manuscript notes. Morris's book turned up later.

Massachusetts legislature to copy manuscripts relating to American history in French archives. From the Public Record Office, Parkman obtained copies of the correspondence of General Amherst with Gladwin, Bouquet, Johnson, the Earl of Egremont, and others. Citation of these transcripts was to American and West Indies Papers, No. 98. Poore sent Parkman transcripts from Paris concerning the Illinois country at the end of French dominion. There were letters from Gov. Aubry, Gov. d'Abbadie, and Capt. St. Ange pertaining to the temper of the Indians, the policy of the English, and the attitude of the habitants.

Private individuals also furnished Parkman with copies of manuscripts they owned that bore on his subject. Besides Lewis Cass, the Stone family, and the McDougall family already mentioned, Brantz Mayer of Baltimore sent him a copy of Lieut. James Gorrell's journal, the original of which was in the Maryland Historical Society library. Gorrell commanded the fort on Green Bay and rescued the survivors of the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac. Parkman makes reference to the manuscripts of John Cadwalader which were in private hands until recently. Lyman C. Draper was in correspondence with Parkman and read the final proof for him.

How, then, did Parkman use this mass of material which he collected and the memories of his personal observations?

In the first place he let himself write a good deal of general history aside from the story of Pontiac. He began with an extensive account of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, discussed French and British Indian policy in America, and retold the whole story of the French and Indian War in summary form before he got up to 1760. However, as this lack of unity is a literary criticism I shall not dwell on it longer.

Of more importance to the historian and bibliographer is how Parkman evaluated his source materials. It is apparent to-day that he was much influenced in his description of Indian life by his observations during his western travels. Unfortunately, he

tended to impose nineteenth-century customs on eighteenth-century Indians. He was greatly attracted by their outdoor mode of life and he admired the race as a whole. Perhaps these were the factors, seconded by Robert Rogers's grandiose accounts, which led him to accord the Indians a political development they never had. He made of chieftainship, which was the loosest kind of leadership imaginable, an institution comparable to kingship. Pontiac was never emperor of a confederation of western nations; he was not even chief of the Ottawas. He was only a chief of one village of Ottawas near Detroit, and a war chief at that. There were also civil chiefs. Pontiac became the war chief of two neighboring villages as well, by persuading them early in 1763 to open a war and to follow a particular plan that he devised. Like other leaders we know, he was respected as long as he was successful.

At times Parkman was highly uncritical of the prevailing version of certain events in Indian history. George T. Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois*, 1940, has demonstrated how far wrong Parkman was in his explanation of those wars against the Hurons and other western tribes in the seventeenth century. Parkman ascribed them to the Iroquois' "insensate fury" and "homicidal frenzy" and their desire for revenge after the successful raid made on them by the Algonquins, assisted by Champlain, in 1609. This popular notion doubtless appealed to Parkman's sense of drama, although it sounded a little thin as motivation. There were sound economic reasons that provoked the Iroquois to attack the Hurons.

Parkman's undue belief in oral tradition often caused him to be more impressed by what someone told him than by what he might deduce from reading. The Detroiters he met in 1845 assured him that Pontiac had a preconcerted plan involving all the western tribes for attacking the British forts simultanously. It is the very thesis of his book. Yet the one good contemporary record of the war which Parkman saw—the so-called "Pontiac Ms."—

said nothing of a general conspiracy, and the speeches of Pontiac that it quoted indicated that the chief was trying to arrange an attack on Detroit alone. Moreover, the successive dates of the attacks on the other forts preclude both prearrangement and simultaneous execution.

From such reliance on tradition, Parkman veered to the utmost caution in occasional details. Although he collected material on the date and place of Pontiac's birth, he dared say almost nothing about these topics. He guessed only that Pontiac was about fifty years old in 1763 — which is unlikely.

Parkman also developed favorites among his sources — persons he relied upon more than others. Two of them were Robert Rogers and Alexander Henry. This faith led him into certain errors. He quoted and credited Rogers's ceremonial meeting with Pontiac in 1760, without informing the reader that this account did not occur in Rogers's *Journals* of daily events, but only in his *Concise Account of North America*, published secondly, a fact that should have aroused his suspicion. Nor did he mention that the journal kept by George Croghan, who accompanied Rogers to treat with the Indians, does not refer to Pontiac at all. Again, Parkman quoted Henry at length on the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac. Now Henry made at least two mistakes in his reminiscence: he had twice as many soldiers killed as were in garrison, and he placed the date of the massacre on June 4. Parkman also secured copies of three letters about the massacre written in that June by Capt. Etherington, the fort commander. From them Parkman corrected Henry on the size of the garrison. Etherington also said the assault took place on June 2, but so impressed was Parkman by Henry's account that when he published the captain's letters, he changed the dates therein to June 4!

Occasionally Parkman made statements without citation of any authority, and even his notes and correspondence fail to enlighten us as to the source. In relating Braddock's defeat, he remarked that the Ottawas assisting the French were "led on, it is

said, by" Pontiac. Where Parkman obtained this exclusive bit of information I have never been able to discover. Pontiac may have participated in the battle, but who ever said so? More remarkable, perhaps, is his spelling of Major Gladwin's name with a y instead of an i. Possibly it was Lewis Cass's influence, even though Gladwin himself used the i and so did the officers writing to him. Parkman also spelled Dalyell's name with a z in place of the y. It may be recalled here that in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, he persisted in calling Sir John St. Clair "Sinclair."

Parkman started writing with the siege of Detroit, went forward from there, then wrote the first chapters last. He remarked in a letter of June, 1850, that the book was three-fourths finished. In September of that year he revealed that he had completed the last chapter on Pontiac's death, but that the opening chapters were not done. Apparently the book was submitted to a publisher before it was finished. A friend sent it first to Harper & Brothers early in the summer of 1850. That company, although liking it, was afraid it would not sell. They even advised Parkman to have stereotyped plates made at his own expense and then submit those to a publisher. Parkman consulted William H. Prescott, who had published in that fashion, and eventually ordered plates made. The work was done by the Boston Stereotype Foundry.

Parkman sent proofs of the plates to his friend, Lyman C. Draper, for criticism in the summer of 1851. Draper was principally concerned with the treatment Parkman had given Pontiac's death in the Illinois. Having investigated the incident in St. Louis, Draper was convinced that the assassination had occurred near Fort Chartres, rather than in a wood near Cahokia, eighteen miles above the fort. Parkman was not persuaded, however, and let his story stand. As it turned out, Parkman was nearer right than Draper, for Pontiac was actually killed within the town of Cahokia.

Little & Brown of Boston risked the ink and paper to publish the book from Parkman's plates in September, 1851. Harper was

right in that the volume did not achieve a popular success at once. An English edition was brought out in London by Richard Bentley, who did his own composition work and issued the work in two volumes. His ledger shows that at the end of one year he had sold 153 copies out of five hundred printed. He was still in the red.

As usually happens, as soon as the book was published, a source which Parkman had long been seeking was put in his hands by Samuel G. Drake — Captain Morris's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 1791. In 1855 Little & Brown issued a second edition from the same plates. Parkman made a few corrections, as follows:

P. 188: Added to footnote 2 relative to population of Detroit in 1763 by quoting census of 1768.
P. 250: Added to footnote 1.
P. 475: Added to footnote a reference to Appendix F.
Pp. 624-625: Added to Appendix F a long quotation from Morris's Narrative in his *Miscellanies*. Parkman pointed out that this required the correction of certain statements on p. 473, but he did not make the changes called for.

In the year 1859 an important new source on the siege of Detroit was found and published by Joel Munsell. It was called a *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* and was edited by Franklin B. Hough, who could not discover the identity of the author. We know today that it was kept by Lieut. Jehu Hay of the Detroit garrison. In the same volume Hough included a short journal of the siege written by Major Robert Rogers. Although the book was printed in only a hundred copies, Parkman is listed as one of the subscribers. Yet he did not mention it in the third edition of the *Pontiac*, brought out in 1863 by Little & Brown. It was exactly the same as the second edition except for the addition of a blank leaf between Appendix F and the Index, which leaf was ignored in the pagination.

In 1866, for reasons which Little, Brown & Co. no longer know, a copy of the third edition was taken to John Wilson and Sons, printers in Cambridge, and the text was set up in type. From

the type seventy-five numbered copies were printed and bound without trimming.[2] This extra and unnumbered edition measures a quarter-inch taller and a half-inch wider than the preceding editions; Foley calls it a royal octavo. The text is unchanged from the third edition, but the lines were spaced out a little so that the letterpress extends about one line farther down on the page.

For the fourth edition Parkman wrote a new preface which was dated September, 1867, although the edition was dated 1868. In it he took notice of Hay's *Diary*, edited by Hough, and said that while its disclosures did not change his story materially, he had altered some details in the light of this new information. He remarked that he had also corrected certain errors found in the preceding editions. The changes are listed below:

P. 148: Added footnote regarding reliability of Rogers. Omitted two sentences in first paragraph in order to make room for the footnote.

P. 188: Altered footnote 2 again from the third edition, doubting Rogers's estimate of population of Detroit.

Pp. 194-195: Omitted part of third paragraph and all of fourth in order to insert long footnote casting doubt on Carver's story of Gladwin's informant and giving stories of other informants.

P. 214: Lengthened footnote; added summary from Rogers's *Journal*, as edited by Hough.

Footnotes added or expanded on pp. 216, 225, 228, 242, 245, 250, 266, 371, 403, 478, and 528.

P. 261: Altered last four lines of first paragraph and added to footnote.

P. 322: Added "Note."

P. 466: Shortened second paragraph by two lines in order to add a footnote.

P. 596: Corrected date in Etherington's letter in Appendix C regarding the massacre at Michilimackinac, but did not correct it in two other letters by Etherington quoted on pp. 242 and 319!

Blank leaf following p. 625 omitted.

The fifth edition was published in 1869, again from the same plates used for the preceding editions.

[2] No. 1 copy of this very limited edition is in the William L. Clements Library. It came originally from the library of Edward G. Mason, Chicago. Unfortunately, the copy has been rebound, but it is still untrimmed.

By 1870 Parkman had completed his *Pioneers of France in the New World*, *The Jesuits in North America*, and *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* in his projected series on France and England in North America. Consequently, it was desirable to reissue the *Pontiac* in a format uniform with the rest of the series. The sixth edition, therefore, was set up in new type with fewer words to the page and was printed in two volumes in 1870. Moreover, the title was shortened to read: *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War After the Conquest of Canada.*

Because the old plates were at last scrapped, Parkman had his first chance freely to make as many alterations as he pleased. He utilized the opportunity to improve his style by altering his diction, punctuation, tenses, etc. I counted twenty-nine such changes, which did not alter his meaning but improved his expression. One typographical change throughout the volume was the use of italics for titles of books and manuscripts cited in the footnotes. Changes in the text were plentiful, owing mainly to Parkman's discovery of the Bouquet papers in the British Museum, where they had been deposited with the Haldimand papers in 1857.

VOLUME I

Footnotes added or expanded on pp. 25, 174, 178, 216, 220, 254, 277, 278, 298, 317, and 356.

P. 99: Omitted clause in footnote 2 saying that Washington's conduct in killing Jumonville was justified.

P. 109: Rewrote last sentence of first paragraph.

P. 110: Last paragraph, concerning Braddock's defeat, rewritten and enlarged.

P. 111: Omitted two footnotes found on p. 99 of the fourth and fifth editions.

P. 120: Omitted first sentence of first paragraph.

P. 150: In last line added fact that Shawnees had sixteen villages.

P. 181: Expanded first paragraph by one sentence and added a footnote.

P. 195: Revised his estimate of Gen. Amherst downward.

P. 244: Expanded first paragraph and cited MacDonald letter in footnote.

P. 275: Restored correct date of massacre at Michilimackinac in Capt. Etherington's letter.

P. 279: Last paragraph added on fall of Fort Presqu'Isle.

Pp. 280-281 and 283-285: Rewritten.

P. 338: Added footnote 1 citing difference in date between Henry and Etherington for massacre at Michilimackinac.

P. 342: Moved note formerly at end of chapter to bottom of this page.

P. 364: Restored correct date of massacre at Michilimackinac in Capt. Etherington's letter.

VOLUME 2

Footnotes added or expanded on pp. 4, 118, 197, 221, 230, 253, 262 (note reduced), 277, 279, and 286.

Pp. 5, 7, 12: Quotations from Capt. Ecuyer's letters added.

Pp. 17-20: Rewrote and expanded account of capture of Fort Le Boeuf.

Pp. 25-27: Rewrote and expanded account of attack on Fort Pitt.

Pp. 28-54: Chapter 19, "The War on the Borders," expanded from 8 pp. to 27.

P. 55: First paragraph revised.

Pp. 56-59: Rewritten.

P. 105: First paragraph shortened and footnote 1 omitted.

P. 108: Several lines added.

P. 109: Omitted footnote found on p. 403 of fourth and fifth editions and substituted a longer one.

Pp. 158-162: Former paragraph on attitude of British officers towards Indians expanded to these four pp.

P. 182: Omitted part of first sentence.

Pp. 185-194: Rewritten. The part of Morris's *Narrative* formerly quoted in Appendix F was incorporated into the text.

P. 200: Opening sentence of Chapter 27 omitted.

Pp. 203-208: Former paragraph on Bouquet's troubles with the Pennsylvania Assembly expanded to these six pp.

Pp. 240-244: Last page of Chapter 27 on Bouquet expanded to these four pp.

P. 263: Second paragraph is new, regarding Pontiac's visit to Illinois.

P. 281: First sentence of first paragraph omitted.

Pp. 284-286: Account of Fraser's mission to Illinois expanded.

P. 363: Appendix F, quoting from Morris's *Narrative*, omitted.

Maps printed on heavy paper.

The next four editions of the *Pontiac* were all reprints from the plates made for the sixth edition. Apparently Parkman was satisfied with this edition of his work, and no other source material came to his attention to upset his relation of events. All the remaining editions bear the 1870 copyright, the date of the sixth

edition. The last two editions show that the plates were wearing, for the letters at the four corners of each page are obliterated or partly gone.

The seventh edition was printed in 1874, again in two volumes.

The eighth edition was published in 1875, and growing demand for the book caused it to be reprinted in 1877, 1878, and 1879.

The ninth edition appeared in 1880 and was followed by other printings in 1884, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1889, and 1891. The maps again reverted to thin paper. However, an edition marked the tenth appeared in 1882 and was repeated in 1885, 1886, 1889, 1891, 1896, and 1898. The reason for this overlapping in dates of the two editions I could not learn; the surviving records of Little, Brown & Co. afford no information on the puzzle. One result to-day is that sets of this work may be found on library shelves made up of volume one of the tenth edition and volume two of the ninth, both printed in the same year.

In 1898 Little, Brown & Co. brought out the luxurious "Champlain edition" of Parkman's works, limited to 1200 sets. *Pontiac* comprised three volumes this time, XVI-XVIII. Similarly, Morang of Toronto in 1900 published a "Frontenac edition" of Parkman. The A. L. Burt Co. of New York put out a one-volume edition of *Pontiac* in 1902. The original title was used again, and a note on the title-page said the book was "reprinted from the Original Edition." In view of Parkman's extensive corrections, there was no virtue in reissuing the first edition.

Little, Brown & Co. published a "New Library edition" of Parkman's works in 1901, in which *Pontiac* was volumes X and XI. This seemed to satisfy the demand until 1919, when the tenth edition was reprinted. In 1922 the same house issued a "Centenary edition" of the works, in which the *Pontiac* was illustrated with historically inaccurate pictures. For instance, the Ottawa chief is depicted in the frontispiece wearing the unmistakable headdress of the Sioux. This edition was reprinted in 1926.

Meanwhile, the Pontiac history had been taken into the "Everyman's Library" series by Dutton in New York and Dent in London, in 1908. They reprinted their edition in 1912, 1917, and 1927. The Macmillan Co. included the book in its "Modern Readers' Series" in 1929, which marks the latest publication of the *Pontiac*.

An avid Parkman collector may be advised to secure at least four copies of the *Pontiac:* the first edition, 1851; the 1866 edition, the rarest; the sixth edition, revised and reset into two volumes, 1870, the author's last corrected text; and the most beautifully printed edition, which is probably the one in the "Champlain edition" of Parkman's works in 1898.

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Bibliographical Notes

Americana

An Account of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson's Streights, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America. Performed in the Year 1746 and 1747, in the Ship California, Capt. Francis Smith, Commander. By the Clerk of the California. Adorned with Cuts and Maps. London: Jonah Warens. 1748-1749. 2 vols.

Numerous authors and cataloguers have given the following names as authors: 1, Theodore Swaine Drage; 2, Theodorus Swaine Drage; 3, Theodore Swindrage; 4, Swaine Drake; 5, William Drage or Dragge; 6, Drage or Dragge; 7, Capt. Francis Smith. The earliest published record I located was John Reingold Forster's *History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*, 1786, where Theodore Swaine Drage is given as author (p. 454). The 1770 catalogue of The Library Company of Philadelphia does not give the name of the author, so it was apparently not known to those cataloguers at the time.

However, there are evidences that *Charles Swaine* was the author. In 1750 Governor Samuel Ogle gave him an official permit to attempt the discovery, the document concerning "Charles Swaine late Clerk of the Ship California which proceeded on the said Discovery in the years seventeen hundred forty-six and seventeen hundred forty seven." In 1753, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, told of the voyage to find the Northwest Passage, commanded by Charles Swaine, "Who was on the last voyage." February of the same year Benjamin Franklin wrote to Dr. Cadwallader Colden about the expedition "commanded by Mr. Swaine, who was on the last expedition in the California, and author of a Journal of that voyage in two volumes."

— Bertha Solis-Cohen

[Edwards, Jonathan.] Conversion of President Edwards.

See Johnson, Thomas H. *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards . . . a Bibliography . . .* 1940, no. 271, which lists, as the first edition by the American Tract Society, one issued in New York in 1827.

Mount Holyoke College Library has the following:
No. 144. | Conversion | Of | President Edwards. | [double rule, .7 cm.] | Written By Himself | [double rule, .7 cm.] | [vignette, enclosed in a double rule, 7.5 x 5 cm.] | "I walked abroad alone, in a solitary place, for contemplation." | page 5. | [single rule, extending the width of the page] | Printed For | The American Tract Society, | 1825.

16 pp. 16.7 x 10.5 cm., apparently untrimmed. Title-page and verso (which is

first page of text) are unnumbered; following pages are numbered 3-16 at outer margin, top; 175-188 at inner margin, top. Vignette on title-page signed PAGE in lower right corner.

Tan brown wrappers. Front cover similar to title-page as far as the vignette, which here lacks the enclosing double rule and has rounded corners and irregular edges, omitting the signature. Under the vignette is a double rule 4.1 cm., followed by imprint:

Published By The | American Tract Society, | Instituted at Boston in 1814. | Sold At Their General Depository, | Stone Church, Hanover-Street, Boston, | By Mr. Aaron Russell, General Agent and Assistant Treasurer. | Sold Also At Their Other Depositories in Various | Parts of the United States.

The New England Tract Society changed its name in June, 1823, to the American Tract Society; the present item was probably published by them early in 1825 since on May 10, 1825, they surrendered the name to the New York Tract Society which then became a nationwide organization.

Thomas H. Johnson has examined the copy and writes: "It is an earlier edition [i.e. by the American Tract Society] than any which I reported in my bibliography, or ever saw before. So far as I know, your copy is unique. There is no reason to doubt that the imprint misrepresents either the date or place of publication; indeed, there is every reason to expect that the date is correct, since it was the policy of the Tract Society to keep publication dates in imprints up-to-date."

— ROBERT W. CHRIST

English Books, 1475-1800

LOCKE, JOHN. Some Thoughts concerning Education. London, 1693.

Of this work there exist two 1693 editions, each of which was printed from a separate setting of type, which have not hitherto been differentiated. They may be most readily distinguished by the catchword on the verso of leaf A2, one reading "I my," the other "I." Similar variations exist throughout all signatures of the volumes.

Although both editions have been accepted as the first edition, it is evident that one actually constitutes the second edition of Locke's classic. The third, 1695, edition is the earliest to bear an edition statement, no second edition being recorded.

Which of the two, however, is the earlier, it is impossible to assert. A comparison of the variations between the two texts reveals that the "I" edition contains fewer errors and includes readings followed by subsequent editions, but the latter, of course, need not necessarily have been printed from the second edition. Such evidence, none the less, suggests, with reservations, that the "I" edition was the second edition.

Of the "I my" edition, copies are found in the Chapin, Harvard, Huntington, and Peabody Institute libraries, while of the "I" edition copies are reported from the Harvard, Yale, and United States Office of Education libraries.

— JOHN ELIOT ALDEN

Reviews

GOLDSCHMIDT, E. PH. *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print By E. Ph. Goldschmidt.* London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1943. [2] leaves, 143 pp. Front. 9 x 7 inches.

The members of the Bibliographical Society [of England], from past experience, have come to expect that only publications of the highest quality are issued by the Society and to this rule E. Ph. Goldschmidt's *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print* (issued this year as the publication for 1940) is certainly no exception.

Mr. Goldschmidt's work falls roughly into four parts. In the first section, the author deals with the urgent need for a new reference book listing the editions of works by mediaeval writers. He describes, with full illustrations, the confusion and difficulties which the scholar at present is obliged to face. It also includes a description of the various types of readers for whom the early printers were at work. The second section is largely devoted to an examination of the three classes of books produced by these presses; these were the books for which there was a steady demand, books by contemporary writers, and the earlier mediaeval books which the editors sought to revive. Here Mr. Goldschmidt points out that this age saw the beginning of a new interest in history and the corresponding rise of nationalism. As he observes: "To them [the ultramontanes] the silence of the antique historians and geographers on their northern countries was a shocking omission, and however much they might admire their style and their art of historiography, the history they told was the history of a foreign country, their ignorance of the ancient kings and heroes of Britain, France, and Germany a serious blemish." In the third part of his book, the writer turns to the vexing question of authors and authorship in the middle ages. He points out rightly that to this age it was the work (not the author) which was important and that this accounts for the numerous anonymous and misattributed works. How books came to be attributed to the wrong author is set forth at length and with great understanding. The final section is, as Mr. Goldschmidt expressly states, a "sample of the method by which a bibliography of mediaeval writers might be compiled compactly."

The four sections of this work contain a certain amount of repetition, but the wealth of its contents, together with the useful examples illustrating the author's points, is impressive.

From among the many stimulating points raised by Mr. Goldschmidt, the present writer cannot help but digress on two that are dear to his heart, namely, the apparent lack of interest on the part of literary historians in the contents of early printed books and the question of what can be done about anonymous and misattributed texts. The first of these is particularly curious. Mr. Goldschmidt notes that literary historians display an astonishing lack of knowledge (and interest) in the first products of the printing press, that they have taken little notice of the bibliographical tools which have been prepared especially for their use, and that editors appear to adopt a haphazard carelessness "when turning from their respected manuscripts to the negligible printed books." He provides a number of interesting examples which fully illustrate into what oblivion the scholarly world has consigned the literary contents of early printed books, however much praise the art historians may have heaped on them. It should always be borne in mind, however, that these volumes were produced to be read — and not to be revered as "objets d'art." The fault lies, of course, not so much with the literary historian as with the librarian and bibliographer, but it must be remembered that critical studies concerning these books are a rather recent development, dating back scarcely a hundred years. Furthemore one must admit that authors, titles and typographical assignments — like modern railway schedules — are still subject to change without notice. This to some extent explains the indifference of the literary historian towards bibliographical reference works and illustrates best of all the need for the work which Mr. Goldschmidt proposes.

Concerning anonymous books and books considered by the mediaeval world to be by authors who could not possibly have written them, Mr. Goldschmidt has much to say that is wise and pertinent. "Almost every other book," he states, "seems to be known habitually under a name which cannot possibly be that of its true author." The question is: How are these works to be entered in a new bibliography? The present writer views with misgiving the modern library practice which succeeds in cataloguing the first dated book produced in England under the name of an Arab philosopher. One sometimes wonders how the Bible escaped some more complex form of entry or why Dante's works are not listed under Alighieri. Much time has been spent and many a doctoral dissertation has been written in the hope of proving that a certain treatise might (possibly) have

been written by some otherwise obscure author. Many of us will agree with Mr. Goldschmidt when he observes that "this kind of search for a suitable name to give to a thoroughly anonymous work, be it a book, a picture, or other work of art, seems to me, however popular it may be, an exercise of totally misguided ingenuity." To the mediaeval world, it must always be remembered, it was the work — not the author — that was important. It did not matter to the mediaeval writer whether Constantinus Africanus or Petrus de Abano was the translator of Dioscorides so long as he felt sure that he had a translation of a venerable classic — which, in the strictly modern sense, he certainly did not have. Can these mediaeval "attributions" be entirely ignored? The present library method of entering wrongly ascribed works to new authors (or rather, to the person currently believed to be the author) is not without its drawbacks. The point is this: if a work has for centuries been (wrongly) ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux and has been habitually cited thus, does it benefit anyone to assign the work to a new, and possibly otherwise unknown, writer? Every mediaevalist, I venture to say, knows that the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* was not written by Bonaventura, as the mediaeval world thought, though there may be many who cannot recall at the moment who the current contender for authorship may be. The average mediaevalist might be puzzled by references to Odo of Meung, Johannes of Kastl, Martinus de Braga, and Petrus de Ciperia, though he would not fail to recognize Macer Floridus, Albertus Magnus, Seneca and Peckham as the (supposed) authors of the *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, the *De Adhaerendo Deo*, the *De Quatuor Virtutibus* and the *De Oculo Morali*. If such attributions as these should disappear from common knowledge because of the insistence of librarians that books be assigned to their correct authors (as believed at present), the task of the future investigator of mediaeval texts will be considerably more difficult. For example, if a present-day scholar, investigating an English mystical text, wishes to confirm a reference cited "As seith Bonaventura," he would probably reach for his *Meditationes* before he would turn to any of the genuine works by the Seraphic Doctor. If, however, he knew this book only as the work of one Joannes a Caulibus (or Giovanni Cavolini) of San Gimignano, his search for a quotation "As seith Bonaventura" might prove difficult and tedious.

Since many books have been cited for centuries as the works of certain authors, it seems essential to preserve somehow such attributions whether erroneous or not. This difficulty can, of course, be in part avoided by adequate and explanatory cross-references in the proposed bibliography. Here-

in might also be included the names under which mediaeval writers frequently cited their sources. Not every one can be expected to know that Sistrence refers to Ranulf Higden of Chester (Cestrensis), Armacanus to Richard Fitzralph, Evax to Marbode, Lincolniensis to Grosseteste, etc., and it is sometimes difficult to recall who the Doctor Irrefragabilis, the Dux Austriae, the Abbas Siculus — perhaps even the Magister Sententiarum — actually were. The Renaissance contributed further confusion when these authors chose to give their names a classical form and Holzmann appears as Xylander, Windhauser as Anemoecius, Waldseemüller as Hylacomylus, etc.

If, then, bibliographers insist that mediaeval attributions be discarded and texts be cited under the authors to whom modern scholarship (often only tentatively and rarely with complete agreement) assigns them, a very detailed cross-reference list seems to be the only solution. As Mr. Goldschmidt wisely observes, the choice of the author under whom the entry is to be made is usually not very easy since "a considerable proportion of the learned literature on these texts consists entirely of demonstrations that a book held to be by A is really by B and that Prof. X is wrong in suggesting that it is by C." Mr. Goldschmidt correctly, I think, points out that an incipit list (useful as this is in identifying entirely anonymous works) would not prove a satisfactory alternative, since this would scatter at random the works of any one known author. I cannot but believe that Mr. Goldschmidt's suggestion of a double catalogue (one to contain only the known works by an author and the other to contain the Dubia) would do anything more than to add to the present state of confusion.

While everyone will agree that the bibliography which Mr. Goldschmidt has in mind is one of the greatest needs of the scholarly world, one cannot help but wonder whether it would not be better to delay such an undertaking for some years to come. Special studies which will certainly make the task a much simpler one are in the process of publication or have been promised. For example such works as Klebs's *Incunabula Scientifica* and the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, together with forthcoming catalogues of the Boston Medical Library and of the Cushing collection, will materially lighten the burden with regard to mediaeval medical works. The new catalogues of manuscript collections in preparation by the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican and other institutions (embodying the very latest knowledge) will be of invaluable assistance. The *Gesamtkatalog* and the British Museum's incunabula catalogue, when completed, will not only provide additional information about authors and their works but

many of the adespota among the incunabula editions will be identified as to place, printer and year. This is, of course, vital for the correct listing, order and identification of the editions. The next few decades should immensely simplify the task of issuing this new *Bibliotheca Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* and give a clearer picture of what form such a definitive catalogue should take than it is possible to suggest at the present time. Whatever form will finally be selected, it will doubtless owe much to the problems and difficulties which Mr. Goldschmidt has here raised and clarified — and just as often explained.

The display of learning (much of it curious and unexpected) set forth in the 143 pages of this book is simply stupendous. It contains the rough material for a score of doctoral dissertations; despite this, the material is pleasantly presented. In particular, let the mediaevalist and the literary historian take note that a truly learned book on a difficult subject can be written with fewer than two score footnotes! One can safely predict that *Medieval Texts* will shortly be placed on the required list for anyone interested in mediaeval studies.

CURT F. BÜHLER

REIS, ANTÔNIO SIMÕES DOS. *Bibliografia das Bibliografias Brasiliras.* Rio de Janeiro, Ministério da Educação e Saude, Instituto Nacional do Livro, Coleçao Bl. Bibliografia I. 1942. viii, 186 pp. Plates.

Bibliografia Brasileira 1938-1939. Ministério da Educação e Saude. Instituto Nacional do Livro, Rio de Janeiro, 1941. viii pp., [1] leaf, 313 pp., [1] leaf, viii [i.e. vii] pp., [1] leaf. 10½ x 7 inches.

In two recent publications the Instituto Nacional do Libro at Rio de Janeiro has made remarkable strides towards the effective organization of Brazilian bibliographical effort. Stock has been taken of past accomplishment, and steps have been taken to care for the present and future. The Instituto was set up as the national bibliographical bureau by the Brazilian government as of January 1, 1938. It is directly under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Public Health and is housed in the building of the National Library. Dr. Augusto Meyer is the able director.

First to be mentioned is the bibliography of Brazilian bibliographies by the active Antônio Simões dos Reis who has alone made some thirty-odd bibliographical contributions within the previous ten years. The present work is a most encouraging addition to the rather limited number of national bibliographies of bibliography in Latin America. To enumerate, for Argentina, there is the work of Narciso Binayán published in 1919. For

Chile, there is one by Ramón A. Laval in 1915 with a supplement in 1929. For Paraguay, there is one also by the Argentinian Narciso Binayán printed in 1922. For Venezuela, the work of Manuel Segundo Sánchez printed in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*.

As a matter of fact, a rather good picture of the whole bibliographical situation in Latin America is furnished by the second edition of *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies*, by C. K. Jones, published by the Library of Congress in 1942.

For the two hundred years of Brazilian work, 1741-1941, covered by Reis there are more than seven hundred entries. The arrangement is chronological and parts of works published in various years are listed separately. In many instances brief biographical notes are given about the authors. The chronological arrangement is supplemented by indexes to subjects and titles, and also to authors.

In the main Reis limits himself to Brazilian bibliographies, including of course the principal Portuguese inventories as indispensable. Diogo Barbosa Machado's *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisbon, 1744-1749, is the first title listed. He includes even bibliographies and bibliographical sketches appearing in books, periodicals and newspapers, and limits himself in no way to the separately published bibliography.

Library catalogues and lists bulk large in Reis, amounting to nearly one quarter of the entries. It is of particular interest to note that the first bibliographical work printed in Brazil is the catalogue (1818) of the Biblioteca Publica of the city of Baía. Commercial catalogues and lists are not included, though it may be noted in passing that the first Brazilian bookseller's catalogue was that of Paulo Martin Filho, Rio de Janeiro, 1810.

The great merit of Reis is that one can now take stock of all previous bibliographical work done in Brazil with some sense of certainty not only in searches for specific publications but in the preparation of bibliographies themselves. In the past great reliance has had to be placed on the biobibliographical works of Diogo Barbosa Machado, of Inocêncio Francisco da Silva, and of Augusto Vitorino Alves Sacramento Blake.

One of the principal retrospective bibliographies is the catalogue of the exposition of the history of Brazil by the National Library, 1881, prepared by Benjamin Franklin Ramiz Galvão and published by the National Library in two volumes as well as included in its *Annaes*.

The contemporary record of current Brazilian publications first appears in the *Boletim Bibliographico* of the National Library, initiated in 1918 and continued through June, 1921. It was published again as the *Boletim*

Bibliográfico da Biblioteca Nacional in two parts for the year 1931 and in a single part for the year 1938.

The Instituto Nacional do Livro has taken upon itself the task of preparing the comprehensive record of current Brazilian publications with a combined volume for 1938-1939. Now the dictionary catalogue form of authors, title and subjects all in one alphabet has been taken up as eminently practical. This not only tends to introduce a standard form of subject reference as well as to stabilize the form of entry for the compound personal names. For a country so vast as Brazil and with such complications in transportation and communication, this first volume seems remarkably full, representing publications even from the far corners of the country.

This activity of the institute in undertaking the record of current publications is not only most commendable but should serve as a great incentive to similar work in the other Latin American countries. One may note in passing that in Argentina the national commission on intellectual cooperation has published beginning with 1937 a semi-annual selected classified bulletin of the more important Argentine books and pamphlets. In Cuba, Peraza, the director of the Havana Municipal Library, has been publishing on his own initiative a comprehensive current record of books and pamphlets as the *Anuario Bibliográfica Cubano*. In Guatemala, the national library prints quarterly in its periodical *Boletín de Museos y Bibliotecas* a full list of all current publications including public documents. In Mexico the Secretariat of Foreign Relations has assumed responsibility for the full current national record with the *Anuario Bibliográfico Mexicano* for 1940. In Peru the current record is published in the bibliographical bulletin of the library of the University of San Marcos at Lima.

There is abundant room for the example of Brazil in stimulating bibliographical progress to be emulated in the other Latin American countries.

James B. Childs

Bookmen's Holiday, Notes and Studies Written and Gathered in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg. New York, The New York Public Library, 1943. xiii, 573 pp., [1] leaf. Front. (port.), il., plates, port., facsims. 9¼ x 6 inches. $5.00.

The sentimentalist is bound to inquire whether this miscellany is a worthy tribute to Dr. Lydenberg; the answer is a whole-hearted yea. Notes and studies can be dreary and dull, they can be utterly unimportant,

and they can be slapdash; when a multitude of such poor intellectual strays are impounded in anthologies, a reviewer is hard pressed to be civil, and resorts to a list of the contents. No such expedient is necessary here, and one finds a specific measure of the affection and esteem with which bookmen of all ranks and tastes regard Dr. Lydenberg in the fact that these papers are generally important, scholarly and readable — not dead memoranda fished from a library oubliette to satisfy an importunate editor's demand.

The general editor, Deoch Fulton, and the printer, John Archer, have succeeded admirably in arranging their wide assortment of material so that it presents an orderly and harmonious appearance. I must apologize for seeming to provoke anarchy by suggesting that the reader who is not too familiar with Dr. Lydenberg's unpublicized achievements might do well to start near the end of the book with Frederic G. Melcher's *Harry Lydenberg — Bookman,* proceeding thence to George L. McKay's bibliography of the printed writings acknowledged by Dr. Lydenberg, and concluding with the spicily personal narrative of George Parker Winship. There are other appreciations in the book, including a flowery cable from MacLeish, but these three provide the essentials.

The table of contents classifies the papers as follows: nine on Americana, six on Bookmen and Authors, three on Books in the Medieval World, three on the Graphic Arts, three on History and Historians, four on Libraries and Librarians, two on Magic and Witchcraft, and five on Printers, Printing and Binding. Only enough of these can be mentioned individually to inspire curiosity and whet appetites.

Judging from Charles Eberstadt's article *On Colorado Guidebooks of '59,* participants in the Pike's Peak gold rush would have done best to steer by the North Star, but Americanists would have been deprived of a choice field of book-hunting. Alice H. Lerch straightens out a confusing reference to "sheets" in Thomas Jefferson's expense account book, by showing that it must refer to linen, not printing, and by producing further good evidence convinces the reader that M. Pierres, not M. La Marche, was the Paris printer of *Notes on the State of Virginia.*

For nearly two centuries, American newsboys carried New Year's greetings in verse and prose, which they presented to their customers on the most hopeful day of the year with the warranted expectation that purses might be opened. Gerald D. McDonald explores the fascinating development of this custom, and gives the evidence for ascribing some of these ephemera to such notables as Franklin, Daniel Webster, Poe, Fre-

neau, Riley, Whittier, Hawthorne, Bryant, and Holmes. He states that Moore's *Visit from St. Nicholas* was first printed in separate format as a carrier's address.

The redoutable Mencken's *Notes on American Given-names* appears to be an amplification of his treatment of the same subject in *The American Langauge,* Fourth Edition, pp. 517-525. Our capacity for invention in this field provides never-failing amusement to the culturally sophisticated. Margaret B. Stillwell offers Colonel Rush Hawkins's account of his attempts to persuade an harassed President that he was fighting the war with the wrong generals — this is historical, and concerns Lincoln and McClellan. R. W. G. Vail investigates the authorship and publishing history of an important sample of the promotional literature issued one hundred and fifty years ago to boom the speculation in Genesee lands, and explains why the rarest edition of all is one printed, but never published, by Pynson Printers in 1924.

Charles E. Goodspeed's article on Richard Franck should delight the philosophic anglers. John D. Gordan sheds further light on Dickens's mistress, Ellen Ternan, whose secret was so well kept by the Victorian guardians of the Dickens legend that only within the past decade has the story become known well enough to have its effect on critical estimates, such as Edmund Wilson's in *The Wound and the Bow.* Ruth S. Granniss tells what is known of that energetic and eccentric bibliophile and music-lover, Thomas Britton, whose livelihood came from peddling coal to the housekeepers of London. Robert W. Henderson relates the activities, literary and otherwise, of John Solomon Rarey, the great American horse tamer, who believed in kindness. How Herman Melville's brother Gansevoort acted as literary agent in securing the London publication of *Typee* by John Murray and an early appreciation of the work by Washington Irving is told by Victor Hugo Paltsits in a paper that adds importantly to American literary history.

Joshua Bloch makes a novel contribution to pro-Semitism with *The People and the Book,* an essay on the love, care and use of books among the Jews, which is a most welcome addition to the literature of bibliolatry. Charles F. McCombs, pursuing his researches in the history of the French Revolution, offers a distressing account of *The Imprisonment of Madame de Lafayette during the Terror* and the assistance offered by the American Minister, James Monroe. The arch-mystifier, John Mulholland, presents some illogical facts about the NYPL's superb collection of books on magic, and then proceeds to explain satisfactorily how things are not what

they seem. A valuable addendum to McKerrow is provided by Curt F. Bühler's study of the causes of variants in certain English incunabula.

The address made by Lawrence C. Wroth in 1939 to the American Institute of Graphic Arts when that body met to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the first printing in North America will be remembered as a most instructive review of the known facts about the Cambridge Press, and it is satisfying to see it finally included between the covers of a book.

Dr. Lydenberg has given himself unsparingly to men and institutions; it is pleasant to find that this time, when his usual role is reversed, the gift he receives is just and honorable.

FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR.

ROGERS, BRUCE, and HENDRICKSON, JAMES. *Paragraphs on Printing Elicited from Bruce Rogers in Talks with James Hendrickson on the Functions of the Book Designer, With occasional Notes and Illustrations* [*device*] New York, William E. Rudge's Sons, 1943. ix, 187, [1] pp. Front. (port.), partly colored facsims. (typographic specimens). 10½ x 7¼ inches. $10.00.

Just as a master painter's shop talk will always fascinate those who enjoy looking at pictures, so must a master typographer's shop talk interest all who read books. So when Bruce Rogers, dean (or playboy, as Carl Rollins calls him) of American typography, talks shop in his latest book, printers and readers and apprentices alike will listen eagerly; profitably too, for these quoted paragraphs become in effect a key to the art and mystery of book designing. This mystery, like Mercutio's wound, is not so deep as a well nor so wide as a church door. It is a sober but lively statement of truths revealed by forty years of bookmaking.

And what is this revelation? Simply that "the book is more important than any of its component parts." Does it seem simple, obvious, a truism? Then look about you, O Reader, and note the neglect of this doctrine these four centuries past. It is a hard gospel for most typographers. They seem to argue: "All the world's a stage; books reflect the world; hence books are themselves a stage, and book-designers merely players." Such may be the *rationale* of the typographic strutters who see in an author a mere creature to advance their fame.[1]

[1] The infection has been noted among certain bookbinders who feel they must show a colored leather mosaic of some literal circumstance in the book. They seem to doubt the author's powers of description, and so devote a good deal of labor to helping him out.

If these pretenders read Bruce Rogers, they will realize how slim their prospects of celebrity are. "Until the Roman alphabet is superseded by some different means of conveying thought," says B. R., "there is little likelihood of any strikingly original development in the making of either type or books." Starting from this truth, a designer need not feel defeated or restricted, but rather encouraged and liberated. For the real task before him is all the clearer: to make a book worthy of author, text and period, without any playing for personal applause. So sober a working method is bound to produce worthy books, and their designer will in the end have his due reward. This reward may seem incidental, but a succession of such incidents will sooner establish the designer's reputation than will a greedy hogging of the limelight. The apprentice who early gains this attitude toward his tasks is sure of doing sane and sensitive and balanced work without the strain and frustration which have too often disfigured our book production.

Paragraphs on Printing thus becomes the steadying anchor for a printer's career — a book of modest precepts for a trade in which humility, discretion and proportion are still the good auguries they have been, from the times of Ratdolt, Jenson, Estienne and Aldus to the days of Updike, Rogers, Anthoensen and Grabhorn. Youngsters cannot too often hear preachments of this kind, especially when spoken by designers who have gained celebrity by methods unaggressive and dignified.

"Preachments" may be too austere a word for these Rogers-Hendrickson *Paragraphs*. There is nothing toplofty about them. Their modest candor makes them sound like the quiet narration of a master craftsman to an eager disciple — and no reader can help wishing to be a disciple. B. R. can be his jocular unstuffy self in discussing the Limited Edition Club's *Aesop's Fables* (set in Fell type at the Oxford University Press). He remarks: "Some new typographic 'hands' were supplied to point the moral of each fable as well as to adorn the tail-piece." This is amusing in itself, but it also hints at the craftsman's joy in devising just the right style of setting for the early Florentine woodcuts. A bit later he warns the reader-disciple to avoid decoration that is not appropriate to the text, otherwise the whole book suffers; and the book is more important than any of its component parts. He also warns against mixing modern with old-style faces in the same book; but approves the use of closely similar faces for footnotes or supplementary matter. He has the deepest regard for ingenuity in the use of printers' ornaments, and the flowered border on the title-page of *A Garland for John Donne*, Harvard University Press 1931, is happily shown on the facing page. Such flowers are of course known to booklovers,

who will rejoice in the many examples of this manner appearing throughout the book. When B. R. urges the designer to become self-critical, Mr. Hendrickson directly adds a remarkable footnote to show that B. R. considers only thirty of his books to have been really successful! Even B. R.'s bitterest enemy (if such there be) would allow him a greater number of successes. But this harsh self-criticism gives B. R. the right to enjoin it upon others.

The reader who has good bookmaking at heart must wish that every young apprentice in the world of print might have this book as a spur to his talent and a guide for his taste. The publishers can be depended upon eventually to issue a cheaper working edition of these *Paragraphs* for such students, to influence them in their more impressionable years.

If this book offers no revolutionary short cuts to success and no hints for specious "originality," it is because the monkey-business of advertising has no place in bookmaking. And since the "shocking" modernism of to-day is often a mere reversion to past ugliness, it is well to keep in mind B. R.'s dictum about the unlikelihood of any startling "originality" in book design. Bernard Shaw, that ever-young mind in an aging body, put the matter bluntly in a *New York Sun* interview the other day when he said: "There is no use talking to an octogenarian about new styles and old styles. He was familiar with all the latest novelties before you were born." Like G. B. S., B. R. takes his work, but not himself, seriously.

Mr. Hendrickson, the book's amanuensis, renders B. R.'s judgments in the unaffected B. R. speech — an achievement in itself. But he shows us (in many footnotes) a lively and discriminating judgment of his own. Where has Mr. Hendrickson been all our lives? His own printing experience and his articulate style entitle him to be heard oftener on typographic matters hereafter.

PAUL STANDARD

RUZICKA, RUDOLPH. *Thomas Bewick, Engraver. Typophile Chap Book Number Eight by Rudolph Ruzicka.* The Typophiles, New York, 1943. Printed at the Southworth-Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine. [2] leaves, v, 70 pp., [2] leaves. Front., illus. 7 x 4½ inches. $5.00.

The Typophile Chap Books show more than the gift for composing type and picture to form a happy page; they often show an even rarer knack for finding a subject that brings out the best in a writer. It was especially apt to get Rudolph Ruzicka to pay a master craftsman's tribute to that inventive genius who, as he says, "anticipated practically all the uses, until the present day, of the burin, gouge and scraper on the cross-cut

grain." The combination of two such names as Ruzicka and Bewick make the booklet a "must" for anyone interested in their common art.

The bulk of the book consists of Bewick's life and opinions as set forth in a skilfully selected sequence of extracts from Bewick's autobiography. This task deserves gratitude, as anyone must admit who has tried to pick his way through those illuminating but maddeningly rambling ruminations. The ups and downs of Bewick's reputation are amusingly chronicled in a series of quotations from what the most tasteful critics of each generation have said about his ever fresh and natural art. If the book has any fault, it is the rare and charming one of an author who too often steps aside in order to let his subject speak for himself. This is a pity in this case, for Mr. Ruzicka looks at wood engraving from the inside, as a man can do only after mastering its tools. It would be hard to find more acute and simply stated characterizations than these, to quote at random: "Bewick continued to be dominated in his work by the refinements of contemporary engraving on copper; he never quite got away from the polish of the copper plate." "It may yet be found that his work has closer affinity to the present, notably the English school, than to the many schools of the intervening period."

The reproductions were made by selecting the best available old impressions out of thousands examined, enlarging them to twice natural size and retouching the photographs "to *restore*, not 'improve' the line that Bewick had originally engraved, where the accidents of ink-ball and hand press had thinned, thickened or completely obliterated them." The reward for Mr. Ruzicka's cramping labor is a series of cuts more delicate and crisp than any printed since Bewick's death, whether from other process reproductions or from the original worn blocks.

A. Hyatt Mayor

Oldham, J. Basil. *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings, Catalogue Raisonné by J. Basil Oldham . . . Illustrated mainly from Photographs by the late P. W. Pilcher . . .* Printed for the [author] Librarian of Shrewsbury School at the University Press, Oxford, 1943. xl, 183 pp., [1] leaf. Colored front. + 62 plates. 13¼ x 10¼ inches. Edition limited to 200 copies. £4–4–0.

The two hundred and sixty odd bindings here described are, for the most part, not artistically or historically important, but nevertheless this volume now takes its place alongside the works of Duff, Gibson, Goldschmidt, Gray, Hobson and Weale on the shelves of all students of Eng-

lish fifteenth- and sixteenth-century bindings. Indeed, it is properly called a "catalogue raisonné" for it is based on rubbings and notes of some six thousand bindings which the author has examined in over a hundred and twenty English libraries, so that the description of a Shrewsbury School binding here given frequently includes a discussion of the other tools or panels belonging to that binder, or conclusions which the author has made as to his identity, dates, or places of business.

The plates of photographs and rubbings are of the finest quality, and it is ungracious to wish that there might have been more than the generous number allowed so that some of them might have been devoted to the bindings not at Shrewsbury but discussed in the text. The paper, proof-reading, style and general craftsmanship of this volume are similar, though on a more ample scale, to the "Oxford Books on Bibliography," for which the Printer to the University of Oxford is likewise responsible.

To recommend the reading of this catalogue from end to end by anyone who should desire to learn something of the study of bindings is, no doubt, counsel of perfection, but it would be a profitable exercise and not as arduous as it might seem, for Mr. Oldham has used only a minimum of technical jargon and has even included a glossary of terms used by him in a special sense. But, to the more casual student, it may be well to say that if ever he has occasion to investigate the bindings attributed to Garrat Godfrey, Henry Jacobi, Julian Notary, Garrett Pilgrim, John Reynes, John Siberch, Nicholas Spierinck, or those workmen known as the Dragon Binder and the Unicorn Binder, he will neglect the new information which is here given at his peril, for to some of them Mr. Oldham has been able to add new and unrecorded tools, and from others to take away what has been attributed on insufficient evidence. Furthermore, the productions of several anonymous binders are here first described and they have been christened the Blank-Book Binder, the Heavy Binder, the Lattice Binder, etc., while the relationship of the various members of the "R" and "G" families of binders has been plausibly, if not finally, set forth. And the names of at least two unrecorded binders, with examples of their work, have been recovered, viz. Richard Prist and Gittens, a Shrewsbury binder of the seventeenth century.

Concerning the later bindings which this catalogue contains not so much new information is provided, but attention should be drawn to the careful differentiation between the bindings made for the brothers Thomas and Richard Rawlinson, as likewise between the bindings made for Robert Harley by Thomas Elliot and those by Christopher Chapman.

The contribution of most general importance to the study of bindings

which Mr. Oldham has made is probably to be found in his remarks concerning the localization of bindings. For example, he points out that "with remarkably few exceptions . . . English and French binders (unless they were dealing with books in Hebrew, when they really followed the same principle) put their clasps on the upper cover, and those of the Netherlands and Germany on the lower." He has also observed that in English bindings the use of pairs of horizontal fillets from the bands to the frame is peculiar to London, that pink coloring of bindings is peculiar to Cambridge, that characteristic of English panel stamps are "bulged columns joined at top and bottom by garlands, angels at top and bottom of the border, often with fleur-de-lis between them, and winged dragons with curiously twisted bodies," and that the hatching on the backs and edges may be used to distinguish between the bindings of Oxford and Cambridge. If these "tests," as well as others which Mr. Oldham has propounded, stand up under general application by competent scholars, and it seems very probable that they will, then the study of English binding has been materially advanced by his labors.

So careful and competent is this work that the reviewer is bereft of opportunity to point to errors and lapses. But it order to prove that he has been diligent in the reviewer's customary search it might be mentioned that the binding on a copy of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, 1649, (R. VI. 17, reproduced Plate XXV) is not "likely . . . executed in 1680," for it is identical with a binding reproduced in Edward Almack's *A Bibliography of The King's Book*, 1896, Binding Illustration No. 3, which occurs on a copy of the same book in an edition (Almack No. 45) which is at least dated the same year, 1649, and in the reproduction, at any rate, measures within a millimeter of the Shrewsbury copy. It would therefore seem that this is probably merely another instance of a bookseller or binder finding it profitable to have a special tool cut, in this case of a crowned Charles I with a skull and large CR, for binding a number of copies of this most popular book. The tool, of course, would not be applicable to another book, although it might be used on almost any edition of the Εἰκὼν.

Future students of bindings will do well to observe some of the matters which Mr. Oldham has pointed out as possibly having a bearing on national or local practices, such as the variant staining of edges, and the design of clasps. Perhaps some will be inspired to do so by the obvious utility of the "localization tests" which Mr. Oldham has already established, and, if so, it will be not the least of the reasons why this book will always be regarded as an important contribution to its subject.

William A. Jackson

SHL
WITHDRAWN

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VOLUME THIRTY-SEVEN

FIRST QUARTER, 1943

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Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared *George L. McKay*, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the *editor* of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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(Signed) THOMAS C. DONOVAN.

[SEAL.] (My commission expires March 30, 1945.)

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